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MANCHESTER

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RULES AND REGULATIONS

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BULLETIN OF
THE JOHN RYLANDS
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VOL. 15

JANUARY, 1931

No. 1

LIBRARY NOTES AND NEWS.

THE bi-millenary of Vergil's birth was commemorated in the University of Manchester, during the afternoon of the 16th of October last, when Professor Robert Seymour Conway, Litt.D., D.Litt., Dott-on-Univ., F.B.A., who, until his retirement at the close of the preceding session, had held the Hulme Chair of Latin and Indo-European Philology for twenty-five years with distinction not only to himself but also to the University, delivered a lecture on "Vergil and the Greek religion," a subject which he has made peculiarly his own.

BI-MIL-
LENARY OF
VERGIL'S
BIRTH.

In the course of his lecture Professor Conway outlined, with many examples, a view of the poet's religious beliefs and expression, and suggested that to Vergil there was one central divine power with two aspects, which were described in the persons of Jove, the negative and moral force, and Apollo, the active, enterprising side of the living spirit. This subject, he said, had been in his mind many times, but he had never until this summer been able to satisfy himself over the problems it presented. Aided by Professor Heinze, he had now been able to do so, and hoped it would be considered a fitting farewell to the Classical Association, since it had risen directly from his teaching in Manchester.

It must be understood that in Vergil's age a god was some thing or person to which one prayed with the expectation of either receiving help or at least escaping some damage or misfortune. The Italian gods were related to natural and human occupations. On the top of this system were imposed the not less numerous stories of the Greek mythology. Thus, for instance, Ceres got mixed up with the misfortunes of Proserpine. Vergil's attitude to this mixture was quite

clear. He was eager to extend the process and to press the Greek tradition into the service of Italian life. The Greek myths were beautiful stories and much more human than the Italian ; many were enshrined in lovely works, and all the myths were linked with Greek poetry. He had believed that they could not help making life and religion much more interesting. Thus it was not altogether misleading to think of the *Georgics* as a missionary poem designed to lift the farmer's life to a higher level. But it was another thing to impress people with the virtues of the gods in the *Æneid*. How was the whole mass of mythology to be put as a serious national entity ? Vergil had given his own religion in two great passages. It was pantheism, a very earnest, almost personal, pantheism. This theme, to be found in the Fourth Book of the *Georgics*, was developed in the Sixth Book of the *Æneid*. But it was also monotheism. There was one centre to the universe, and that centre was divine. This constantly appeared in Vergil's use of the word "fata," which was rightly translated as "declared oracles." It did not in the least mean fatalism, but hardly less than a moral and spiritual law. Jove, who was keeper of the sibylline books, himself had to study them.

With this conviction at heart, what did Vergil do with traditional figures other than those of Jove and Apollo ? Bishop Barnes, Professor Conway related, recently said that " religion is kept sweet and wholesome when the flowing waters of reason continually wash away dead fences, and when the spiritual experience of living man continually revives the truths that come to us from the past." It was into just such a process that Vergil threw himself. There were eight different ways in which, handling the story of Æneas, Vergil dealt with the old-world myths. He used open reprobation in, for instance, his description of Æneas's shield—"an abortion of gods of every sort." He used discredit in the words "if you think fit to believe it." Mild ridicule was often to be seen ; occasionally he removed to the far past the indiscretions of the gods.

He reduced grossness, as, for example, attributing to Æneas the thought that the snake which ate the sacrificial food was not the spirit of his father, but an attendant spirit. By double causation he suggested that the fiery Allecto only inflamed passions already existing, or that Æneas escaped from spears partly by reason of his shield and partly because his mother Venus deflected the spears. He was limiting and naturalistic. Iris was a charming young lady, but she was, neverthe-

less, a rainbow, and two centaurs gave a splendid picture of an Alpine avalanche. Sometimes the miracles were performed, sometimes admitted as minor and inoperative actions. But Poseidon never spoke to man direct, as in the *Iliad*; he appeared in the form of some known character.

The last instrument was a silence, partial or absolute, as that which covered Æneas's early life. "Who got the lad ready for school?" the professor asked. Venus had to be his mother, but she did not appear at home. Juno and Venus were human, but "with special aeroplanes of their own so they could get about."

There remained the two forms of divinity definitely divine. Vergil recognised that the world had been accustomed to split up the divine entity as we were accustomed to do. He made beautiful use of the old-world point of view. Jove in Vergil was the embodiment of the negative side of creation, the minister of the fates which were the moral law. Turnus could not evade the law, though he might have a chance to change his mind. Apollo taught men what was new. Upon two special occasions he gave Æneas revelations; first, in his meeting with Anchises in the underworld, when Anchises expressed his view of the public life, and again when Vergil himself spoke in the silence of the sibyl at the gate of Elysium and described those who wore the snow-white chaplet of private good, those who suffered wounds to save their fatherland, the unsullied priests, the faithful prophets, and those "who by good service made their memory dear to two or three."

In the evening following the lecture the commemoration was continued, and a dinner was held in the University by the Manchester and District Branch of the Classical Association, at which Professor Conway was the principal guest. The Bishop of Manchester, who is the president of the Branch, presided, and the company included the Vice-Chancellor (Dr. Moberly), Professor Alexander, Professor Dobson, and a number of Professor Conway's former pupils, many of whom had travelled considerable distance in order to be present to do honour to Vergil and his distinguished commentator.

PROFESSOR
CONWAY
HON-
OURED.

In proposing the toast of "The immortal memory," the Bishop said the thing which he had liked most in Professor Conway's lecture of the afternoon was his application of Vergil's teaching to modern

life. It was true, he said, that Vergil had lessons to teach us all. There was an epithet which the poet was always applying to his hero, Æneas, the word "pius." By that adjective Vergil did not mean only that Æneas was a good son to his father. "Pietas" extended in Vergil's thought to the glory and the destiny of the world. Vergil was in the best sense of the word a "patriot," as Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch has pointed out, not in the narrow sense which we had outgrown in the larger family life of the nations, but in a feeling for the glory which our country had been in the past, and would be in the future, a glory that found its best ideal to-day, as in Roman times, in service.

The Rev. C. E. G. Spencer, one of the first students to sit under Professor Conway when he came to Manchester over twenty-five years ago, proposed the toast of "The guest of honour." Professor Conway, he said, had taught him, as he had done hundreds of others, that Latin was not a dead language, but the key to a whole new world of beauty. He helped his pupils always to see life more steadily, and opened their eyes to the things by which life was ennobled and enriched. It was not merely that he had the gifts of fine scholarship and enthusiasm for the humanities; he had also the greater gift of imparting that scholarship to others, and kindling a like enthusiasm in his disciples.

In replying, Professor Conway said that during his stay in Manchester he had been greatly blessed with that answering interest and accompanying thought in his pupils, which are coveted above all things by a teacher who loves his work. He had a great faith in the future of the humanities, and believed that they still might shape and strengthen the intellect of future generations. He would like to congratulate Manchester on the really notable school for the study of classics which had been built up in its University. He believed that the study of Vergil was in some ways typical of and central in the humanising, enlightening, and beneficent work which the younger universities were doing. He had often felt in America, as in Manchester, that the people who were by the pressure of life and the habit of their surroundings most deeply engaged in the pursuit of material ends were the very ones who felt more eager and grateful for the new light and the new understanding which they found in the study of great poetry.

It was precisely those who came from the homes which were most

oppressed by the struggle to make two ends meet who fastened on the study of Vergil as opening out new horizons of beauty and delight in a world of which they had never dreamed. The younger universities were doing a great work by helping to draw aside the veil of distance which separated the poor man's home from the greatest achievements of mankind. These things which meant the most in life were, like the sunrise and the sunset, not the property of any one class or sect or tradition, but a common inheritance, and the inalienable right of all. The universities, where arts and sciences were in rich and happy association, were doing a service which was of far more than local, or even national, importance. It was when men of all nations met and joined hands in the study of the greatest works of humanity that those foolish prejudices, which made the wars and miseries of men, seemed most unreal and most despicable.

It was announced in the course of the foregoing proceedings that steps were being taken towards the creation of a prize in the University of Manchester, to be associated with the name of Professor Conway, as a token of affection and gratitude on the part of his old colleagues and students, of members of the Branch, and of others interested in the cause of classical culture, for the inestimable services which he has rendered in fostering and extending the activities of the Classical Association and classical studies in general, in Manchester and elsewhere.

PROPOSED
CONWAY
PRIZE.

The exact form of this prize, and the conditions governing its award, have not yet been determined, but those interested in the cause of the classics, who may desire to participate in this expression of gratitude and esteem whether in this country, in America, or in the Antipodes where Professor Conway's lectures and personal charm made so lasting an impression, are invited to send their contributions to Mr. W. Beare, the University, Manchester.

At the close of the present Session, Professor L. E. Kastner, M.A., Litt.D., will have completed forty years as a teacher of French Language and Literature and Romance Philology, and twenty-one years as the holder of the Senior Chair of French in the University of Manchester.

PROFESSOR
KASTNER'S
SERVICES
TO
SCHOLAR-
SHIP TO BE
COMMEM-
ORATED.

Many of his colleagues and former pupils feel that it would be very fitting to commemorate the occasion by presenting to Professor Kastner, in the course of next year, a miscellany

of essays and studies, dealing with French language and literature and Romance philology generally.

The miscellany will consist of some forty articles by British and Continental scholars, including a number of Professor Kastner's old students in Cambridge, Aberystwyth, and Manchester, and will form a volume of not less than 400 octavo pages, which is to be issued by subscription.

We are quite sure that large numbers of Professor Kastner's colleagues, pupils, and other friends will welcome this opportunity of showing their appreciation of the long and distinguished services he has rendered, both as teacher and scholar, to the cause of modern languages not only in this country but through his published works in other countries, by subscribing towards the cost of the publication of this volume, which, it is estimated, will amount to approximately £450.

Subscribers of one guinea or more will be entitled to a copy of the volume.

We commend this appeal to our readers overseas, who should not fail to secure this collection of studies for the libraries of the universities with which they are associated, and also for the more important of the public libraries.

Subscriptions may be sent to Dr. Mysie Robertson, Hon. Treasurer, Kastner Miscellany Publication Fund, Ashburne Hall, Fallowfield, Manchester.

We have received from the Vice-Chancellor of the University of London a provisional announcement of the third of a quinquennial series of historical conferences held under the auspices of the University of London at the Institute of Historical Research, which is to be held in London from the 13th to the 18th July of the present year. It will follow in general the lines of the conferences of 1921 and 1926, from the success of which the Senate of the University confidently anticipates that historical workers in the United States and the British Empire will welcome another opportunity of discussing with their colleagues in the United Kingdom those problems of historical research which are of interest to the English-speaking world.

ANGLO-
AMERICAN
HISTORI-
CAL CON-
FERENCE.

There are to be three general meetings of which one will be devoted to the presentation and discussion of the Continuation Committee's quinquennial report, and the other two to the discussion of

problems of general historical interest. One and a half mornings will be devoted to sectional meetings. The following sections have already been established: Mediæval History; Modern European History; British Colonial History; Economic History; American History; British Local History; and Slavonic History.

The Chairman of the Conference will be Professor A. F. Pollard, M.A., Litt.D., F.B.A., and the Secretary, Guy Parsloe, B.A. Request for information and promises of adhesion should be sent to the Vice-Chancellor of the University, or to the Secretary of the Anglo-American Historical Conference, Institute of Historical Research, Malet Street, London, W.C. 1.

The following interesting note on the article dealing with "The Deposition of Richard II.," which appeared in our issue of January, 1930, has been contributed by Mr. J. W. H. Redfern, B.A., of the University of Sheffield.

THE DE-
POSITION
OF
RICHARD II.

"The article on 'The Deposition of Richard II.' in the BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY, January 1930, throws new light on the Revolution of 1399. But the question of chronology still presents some difficulty. It is stated on page 141 that Richard sailed from Ireland on July 27th. This is on the evidence of a note in the preface to the *Eulogium Historiarum* (III., lxii., n. 1), which quotes the authority of an account, enrolled in the Foreign Accounts 1-6 H. IV., of John Lufwyk, Receiver of Richard's chamber. But as Sir James Ramsay has pointed out (*Genesis of Lancaster*, II., p. 355, n. 3), the editor of the *Eulogium* miscopied the date from the Foreign Account, and the original document in the Public Record Office gives July 17th as the date when Richard left Dublin. On the evidence of Créton the voyage took two days (*Archæologia*, xx., p. 75).

"The alteration in date from July 27th to July 17th suggests certain changes in argument and deduction. The dramatic coincidence of the fall of Bristol on the 28th or the 29th July with Richard's landing in South Wales is lost, and it seems that the simultaneous rush of Richard and Henry to the north is lost with it. For Richard could scarcely have delayed from the 19th to the 30th July in Pembroke or Carmarthen counties before he set out for Chester. Indeed, Ramsay deduces from Créton that the king reached Conway about the 31st July, at a time, that is, when Hereford had only begun his march (*Gen. of Lanc.*, II., p. 356, n. 2).

"If the change in date, however, somewhat obscures Richard's movements in Wales, the significance of Henry's march is made all the clearer: as Richard landed on the 19th, the duke could certainly receive information of that by July 29th, but he could not have done so had the king landed on that day himself.

"The alteration in date, moreover, is damaging to the reputation of Richard. It gives him ten days longer in Wales, which more than counterbalance the reduction of a week by moving the Conway negotiations from the third to the second week in August. In all, he had three weeks before Hereford took possession of Chester, time which he scarcely used to the fullest advantage. He made no effort, for instance, to forestall Henry's attack on Bristol and so save the southern half of his kingdom. In these circumstances, the traditional interpretation of Richard's action as crazy and panic stricken seems confirmed.

"Thirdly, the prolongation of Richard's time in Wales gave him greater chance of learning the true state of his fortunes in England, and the *Dieulacres Chronicle* says "rex audiret de copioso exercitu ducis et quasi mundus totus post eum abiit" (*J.R.L.B.*, Jan., 1930, p. 172). In this case, the *a priori* argument that Richard, bold in his ignorance, was unwilling to resign at Conway is somewhat weakened. There remains, however, the unmistakable evidence of the *Dieulacres* and *Whalley* chronicles.

"Lastly, the discovery of the correct date of Richard's sailing from Ireland is damaging not only to the reputation of Richard, but to that of the monk of *Dieulacres* as well. For the latter gives the date of the king's landing as "about August 1st" which, although only an approximate date, is yet wide of the mark of July 19th.

"In essence, the change in date from July 27th to July 17 does not affect the question of Richard's resignation or deposition, but it deprives the revolution of a new dramatic element and it confirms the usually accepted view of Richard's character."

Two articles in our present issue are of very considerable interest to students of mediæval history. Dr. Friedrich Bock discusses and prints some new documents illustrating the early years of the Hundred Years War. Several of these documents are taken from Rylands Latin MS. 404—a fourteenth century Register of the reign of Edward III.

MEDIÆVAL
HISTORY
IN THE
PRESENT
ISSUE.

A detailed list of the contents of this noteworthy MS., which is certainly one of the most outstanding additions made to the Library Collection of MSS. in recent years, was given by Dr. Bock in the July (1930) number of the *English Historical Review*.

The second article is contributed jointly by Miss M. V. Clarke and Mr. N. Denholm-Young, who print part of a Kirkstall chronicle for the years 1355 to 1400. This Yorkshire chronicle, it will be noted, concerns the period partly covered by the section of the *Dieulacres Chronicle* printed by Miss Clarke and Mr. V. H. Galbraith in their joint article on "The Deposition of Richard II." in the BULLETIN for January, 1930. Both these chronicles come from Cistercian houses and are of particular northern interest, and it is fitting that they should first appear in print in the BULLETIN of our Library, which possesses a number of important Cistercian books, including MSS. from Rievaulx, Warden (a daughter-house of Rievaulx), Fountains, Meaux (like Kirkstall, a daughter-house of Fountains), and Byland. Of these MSS. we may particularly mention the well-known *Chronica Monasterii de Melsa*, of which we possess the earliest copy in the autograph of the author, Thomas de Burton, the nineteenth abbot; also a bulky volume of the Chartulary of Fountains Abbey, and the Chartulary of Warden. The Warden Chartulary has been edited by Dr. H. G. Fowler, and its publication, which has been undertaken conjointly with the Bedfordshire Historical Record Society, is expected almost immediately. It may be of interest to note that these Cistercian works appear in print exactly eight hundred years after the first appearance of the Cistercians in the north of England, for it was in 1131 that monks from Clairvaux, finding a wealthy patron in Walter l'Espece, founded the Yorkshire Abbey of Rievaulx.

CISTER-
CIAN
CHRONI-
CLES.

In the *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* for 1930 (Vol. XXX., pp. 1-132) Professor Hamilton Thompson has edited the Register of the Archdeacons of Richmond for the years 1442 to 1465. This is the first part of Rylands Latin MS. 433.

We have received from M. B.-A. Pocquet du Haut-Jussé a copy of his *François II., duc de Bretagne, et l'Angleterre* (1458-88),—a valuable work bringing out very clearly the important effects of

our political relations with the Duchy during this troubled period and containing a short interesting section on commercial relations.

The present issue also contains the third and concluding section of Dr. Mingana's Garshūni text and annotated translation of "The Apocalypse of Peter," the earlier PETER AND PAUL. sections of which made their appearance in the two preceding issues of the BULLETIN. After dealing with the history and description of the anti-Christ, the writer (Clement) here treats of the history of the Apostles and their evangelisation of the various countries of the world. Special emphasis is laid on the preaching of Peter, in which the writer's strong partiality for him has led him to adopt an attitude so hostile towards Paul as to give to his writings a tendency which is distinctly anti-Pauline and places the great "Apostle of the Gentiles" in a very unfavourable light.

Another passage to which attention has been called by Dr. Mingana in his prefatory note, refers to the writer's somewhat startling theological view of the Incarnation, and of the way in which "the Word became flesh," which reveals traces of a mild form of Docetism. Briefly stated, the view propounded is that the body of Christ was a simple covering which He Himself materialised from the light, a view which is totally inconsistent with the orthodox doctrine of the Church after the Council of Nicea.

In another article Dr. Mingana has furnished us with some gleanings from his notes upon the manuscripts with which he is dealing in his forthcoming "Catalogue of "THE BOOK OF WISDOM." the Syriac and Garshūni Manuscripts" of his collection. The first note relates to the authorship of "The Book of Wisdom." Although the Solomonic authorship has been rejected long since, no other name has been substituted hitherto. Now, however, Dr. Mingana has discovered a passage in one of the manuscripts under description in which the authorship is definitely assigned to a man called Joel, and not to a prophet. No precise information is at present available as to the identity of this Joel, who bears a name by which many Biblical and post-Biblical personages were known. Since, however, it is the unexpected that is constantly happening it is not unlikely that Dr. Mingana, in the course of his further investigations, may light upon evidence which will enable him to single out the actual author.

The second note relates to the authorship of the Harklean Passion Harmony which, hitherto, has been regarded as an adaptation of the well-known "Diatessaron" of Tatian of the second century, or as resulting from its direct influence. Now comes the information that this Harmony was arranged by Rabban Mar Daniel, from the village of Baith Bātīn near Harran, and his disciple, Isaac.

"HAR-
KLEAN
PASSION
HAR-
MONY."

The Council of the Library Association are to be congratulated upon the report, issued in the early days of December last, of the finding of the Special Committee set up by them to report upon the durability of paper for the permanent preservation of books, records, and state papers.

THE DURA-
BILITY OF
MODERN
PAPER.

The chairman of the Committee was Mr. Arundell Esdaile, secretary of the British Museum, and among the members were representatives of the Association of Special Libraries and Information Bureaux, the Paper Makers' Association of Great Britain and Ireland, the Design and Industries Association, H.M. Stationery Office, the Public Record Office, and the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation.

It was not until the beginning of last century that there was any real cause for anxiety as to the durability of writing or printing paper. From the beginning of the thirteenth century, when the manufacture of paper was spreading throughout Europe, down to the beginning of the nineteenth century, the paper employed was entirely durable in character, as is abundantly proved by the vast accumulations of manuscripts, and later of printed books, which have survived in undiminished strength and freshness.

It is only when we come to the early part of the nineteenth century that we find a depreciating process in the manufacture being indulged in, no doubt with the object of meeting the growing demand for a less expensive paper, and to compete with the cheaper qualities which were being imported from abroad, with the result that all sorts of unsuitable ingredients were introduced into the pulp, leading to the production of papers in which deterioration and decay rapidly set in.

It has been said that in many cases this is not to be deplored, for much of the modern literature is so ephemeral or noxious in character that its disappearance in this way would be a blessing rather than a

loss. But, we may reasonably ask : who is to decide what is to be regarded as ephemeral ? Much of the so-called ephemeral and fugitive literature of the fifteenth, sixteenth, and even the later centuries is amongst the most valuable source material for the history of the periods to which they belong, and is eagerly sought by the students of history and literature to-day. Therefore, to be on the safe side, we must use every endeavour to secure such qualities of permanence in the manufacture of writing and printing papers that, with reasonable care, time will not affect them.

The committee's report deals with materials which have come into use within the last sixty or seventy years, and their judgments are based upon chemical, physical, and artificial ageing tests, not upon direct evidence. Accordingly they cannot exclude the possibility that materials now regarded as inferior may be elevated to a higher grade by improvements in the methods of manufacture. With this qualification, the four principal classes of paper are endorsed : A, suited for permanence ; B, for relative permanence ; C, for general purposes where permanence is not essential ; and D, for ephemeral productions. The committee define two main grades of paper corresponding to the first two of these classes, and urge the inclusion of practically all printed books in at least Class B ; and they particularly condemn " Featherweight " and " Art " papers.

In their draft report, issued in September last, the committee ranged definitely under Class C (as impermanent) paper made from esparto and straw, esparto being described as " too liable to contamination from the atmosphere." They now state that they adhere to the classification of these materials in a lower category of cellulose than B (chemical wood-pulp) " by a consensus of scientific opinion." They add, however, that they realise that " paper of fair durability may be made of cellulose, derived from prepared esparto grass ; and, that being so, they do not wish to stress unduly the difference in stability of cellulose derived from Class B and Class C ; in fact they are prepared to admit that paper made from Class C materials, if carefully prepared, may be even more stable than papers made from Class B materials if the latter are not selected and treated in a suitable manner." While still condemning the use of " Bulky Antique " or " Featherweight " paper, they admit that " a thinner and a more robust paper can be produced from esparto (of which featherweight

papers are made), calculated, if carefully manufactured, to give fair durability." As many data as possible on this subject will therefore be collected, and a series of comparative tests carried out, after which the committee hope to provide more definite information on the use of esparto.

The committee again emphasise the fact that a durable paper made of chemical wood-pulp can be put on the market at a price hardly higher than the average price for the lower qualities of paper used for commercial book-production to-day, but they have been forced to revise the price ratios for the all-rag printing papers regarded as permanent. Grade 1 (*a*)—*i.e.*, all-rag, hand-made, tub-sized paper—is now said to cost approximately six (instead of four) times the price of the common lower qualities used at present. Grade 1 (*b*)—*i.e.*, all-rag, machine-made, and tub-sized or engine-sized paper—has a price ratio of three (instead of two to two and a half) times the common quality.

A system of watermarks for each recommended grade of paper is suggested, somewhat on the American pattern, which would be employed by makers under licence from the Library Association or some other body. Given a supply made to these specifications, they urge as the first step towards improvement the use of such paper in the transactions and reports made by learned bodies of all kinds. The present report (published by the Library Association at 1s.) is printed on a Grade 2 chemical-wood paper.

We are glad to note that active steps are being taken in several directions to safeguard manuscript documents of national or of local historical interest.

We have before us circular letters which have been sent out by the William Salt Library, Stafford, to all solicitors in Staffordshire and on its borders, reminding them that in many solicitors' offices there are documents of great interest, now unwanted and probably forgotten, which are in danger of being turned out and sent either to the destructor or to the paper mill whenever further shelf room is needed, or change of premises render their removal necessary.

SAFE-
GUARDING
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Documents of this character are of great interest to the local historian, and are calculated to throw light upon the local social or

economic history of the county in which the properties to which they relate are situated, and solicitors and other owners of such manuscript material are invited to deposit it either as a permanent gift, or on loan, in the strong room of the William Salt Library.

A similar circular letter was addressed to all the known Lords of Manors and their agents, and has resulted in the deposit, in the strong room at Stafford, of a number of Court Rolls, and in promises of others.

The County Council of Bedfordshire have established a County Record Office in the Shire Hall at Bedford, under the charge of the Clerk of Records, who has been laudably active of late in calling attention to the facilities which are there offered for safeguarding the various classes of records and documents, to which we have from time to time referred in these pages.

We are glad also to note that steps are being taken to give effect to the provisions of the "Parochial Registers and Record Measure," by which means many of our parish registers will be saved from the process of disintegration by which they are threatened from want of care.

An interesting description of the "County Record Office and its educational function" was contributed by the Bedfordshire Clerk of Records (Mr. F. G. Emmison) to *The County Councils Association Gazette*, December, 1929, and furnishes much useful information upon the character and the custody of the public, local, and other records. The article has been reprinted in a separate form, and copies may no doubt be obtained from Mr. Emmison.

In this connection it may not be out of place to recall a secret sale by the Royal Institution to an American collector in the early part of last year, of an extraordinarily interesting collection of historical records known as the "Dorchester Papers," which deal with the American War of Independence and contain, among other things, Washington's actual declaration of war, and sixty-nine letters to the British command. It is true that the more important of them have already been printed by the Historical Manuscripts Commission, and are, therefore, available to students, but the incident, as was pointed out at the time, is most disquieting, and it is not surprising that questions were asked in Parliament. The Royal Institution were able, we are told, to make

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out a reasonable case for disposing of this item among their treasures, in order to raise the requisite funds for the reconstruction of their present building, but that an organisation founded under Royal charter should dispose of documents of the first national importance to a foreign purchaser without giving its own country a chance to acquire them, is most unsatisfactory. The Prime Minister, in replying to the question, made it clear that nothing could then be done in that particular case, for the bargain was concluded many months earlier. But he expressed very firmly the Government's opinion that it is the duty of anyone who proposes to part with such treasures, to make known the intention, in the first instance, to the proper Department of State. What is that proper Department of State was not stated. There is a measure at present before Parliament for preventing the unchecked exportation of ancient buildings, and we venture to suggest that the time has arrived when some such measure should be applied to prevent the exportation of irreplaceable historical documents.

The most recent publication issued by the Library bears the following title: ENGLISH INCUNABULA IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY: a catalogue of Books printed in England, and of English Books printed abroad between the years 1475 and 1500. It represents the first instalment of: "The Catalogue of Books printed in England, Scotland and Ireland, and of English Books printed abroad between the years 1475 and 1640 in the John Rylands Library," the construction of which was commenced as long ago as 1910, and which in spite of the difficulties experienced during the years of the Great War was completed and ready for the Press in 1916, but owing to other and more pressing demands upon the resources of the library, it was found to be impracticable to proceed with the printing.

ENGLISH
INCUNABULA IN
THE J.R.L.

It has been decided, however, to make a commencement by printing in a separate volume the entries relating to the fifteenth-century books, which may be regarded as forming a group by themselves.

The delay in printing the complete catalogue has not been without its advantages, since it has enabled us to incorporate in it the titles of the 1200 additional books printed before 1640, which have been acquired in the interval.

Although the catalogue has not, hitherto, been available in a printed form, readers have enjoyed, and may still enjoy, access to it in manuscript state, and considerable use is being made of it in this way.

The collection dealt with in the present volume is not large when compared with the more comprehensive collection of which it forms part, or with the rest of the library ; but it is of considerable importance by reason of the extreme rarity of a number of the works which find a place in it.

It contains but 154 items. Of these 132 formed part of the Althorp Library, which was formed by George John, the second Earl Spencer, during the first half of last century, and it is but bare justice to the memory of Lord Spencer to say that but for his scholarly instincts, coupled with his taste and zeal in collecting, it would have been impossible for the Rylands Library to have achieved anything approaching the richness of the collections it now boasts. The Spencer books were acquired by our founder in 1892.

It is true that the foundation of the Althorp Library may be said to have been laid in 1790, when Lord Spencer acquired the choice collection of Count Reviczky, but it was not until his retirement from official life, in 1807, that he was able to devote himself exclusively to literary pursuits, and to the making of additions to his already famous library. From that time, for something like thirty years, he is said to have haunted the sale-rooms and book-shops throughout Europe in his eagerness to enrich his collection with whatever was fine and rare.

In this quest Lord Spencer was assisted by Dr. Thomas Frognall Dibdin, with whom he became acquainted in 1802, and to whom subsequently he entrusted the care of his library. Lord Spencer placed the greatest reliance in the advice and judgment of Dibdin in the selection and purchase of such books as would form a worthy addition to the Althorp Library, and many of the books acquired during this period are described in the pages of the newly-published catalogue.

Of the 154 items described in this catalogue twenty-two are only known from the Rylands copy, and of twelve others only one other copy has survived.

Of the works printed by William Caxton, England's first printer, if we include four fragments, there are sixty-two, comprising more than half the works known to have been issued by that printer. Of these if we include "Blanchardyn and Eglantine," of which only a single

leaf in the British Museum and another leaf in Melbourne are otherwise known, six are known only from the copies here described and of three others only one other copy is known. Of books printed by Caxton's successor Wynkyn de Worde, there are thirty-six in the collection, of which six are only known from the Rylands copy. Of the productions of the press of Richard Pynson there are twenty-two examples, of which eight are the only copies at present recorded. Of the Oxford Press there are twelve items, whilst William de Machlinia and the unidentified schoolmaster printer of St. Alban's are also well represented.

The arrangement of the main part of the catalogue is alphabetical according to the name of the author or whatever heading takes the place of the author, which may be a nation, a town, a society, or some social, political, or religious body. This is followed by three appendices :—

1. A "Chronological Index," in which the works are arranged chronologically in the order of publication, enabling the user to see at a glance what books appeared in a given year, and what printers were working, so to speak, side by side.

2. An "Index of Printers and Booksellers" arranged alphabetically, in which the publications of each are arranged chronologically in the order of their publication.

3. An "Index of Subjects" dealt with in the works under description.

These appendices are followed by sixteen facsimiles, consisting of reproductions of characteristic pages, except in the case of the broadsides, from the works described in the catalogue, of which the Rylands copy is the only one at present known. They are of the exact size of the originals, with one exception.

The catalogue has been designed to answer, with the least trouble to the enquirer, as many questions as possible about the work under description, since many copies of the productions of the fifteenth century presses possess an individuality which they share with no other copy of the same work. It may be said, therefore, that the new catalogue gives a detailed life history of the volumes it describes, and by means of quotations from the prologues, epilogues, and colophons the books are made to tell their own story in the very words of their own editors, translators or printers.

References have been made at the end of each entry to the principal authorities in this field of bibliography, although we have worked independently of them, so as to bring out any individual features that the particular copy may possess.

The catalogue is in quarto, bound in cloth, and may be obtained at the price of one guinea net from the Manchester University Press, Lime Grove, Oxford Road, Manchester, or from the Librarian of the John Rylands Library, Deansgate, Manchester.

The following is a list of the six public lectures, by scholars of recognised authority in their various departments of study, which were arranged for the present session. The two lectures already delivered were attended by the customary large and responsive audiences, and have been instrumental in imparting a fresh stimulus to study in the subjects with which they dealt.

Wednesday, 12th November, 1930. "Shakespeare's Recoil from Romanticism." By H. B. Charlton, M.A., Professor of English Literature in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 10th December, 1930. "Phrygia in 1930" (with lantern illustrations). By W. M. Calder, M.A., LL.D., Professor of Greek in the University of Edinburgh.

Wednesday, 14th January, 1931. "Some English Documents of the Conciliar Movement." By Ernest F. Jacob, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of Medieval History in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 11th February, 1931. "Ancient Egyptian Mathematics in the Light of Recent Research" (with lantern illustrations). By Thomas Eric Peet, M.A., Brunner Professor of Egyptology in the University of Liverpool.

Wednesday, 18th March, 1931. "An Hour with the Greatest Manuscript of Vergil's Poems" (with lantern illustrations). By R. S. Conway, Litt.D., D.Litt., Dott.-on-Univ., F.B.A., Professor Emeritus of the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 15th April, 1931. "Pascal the Writer." By Samuel Alexander, O.M., Litt.D., LL.D., D.Litt., F.B.A., Honorary Professor of Philosophy in the University of Manchester.

An amplification of Professor Charlton's November lecture on "Shakespeare's Recoil from Romanticism" is printed elsewhere in the present issue. It is the second of a series of interpretations of

Shakespeare which Professor Charlton has undertaken to continue from time to time.

Professor Calder's lecture, in December, dealt with the epigraphical journey to Eastern Phrygia which he undertook in the early part of the year. With the aid of a number of excellent pictures, he described some very important inscribed stones of early Christian art, which he had discovered in the course of his wanderings. The whole lecture will be published in an amplified form, with illustrations, in our July 1930.

The additions to the shelves of the library by purchase and by gift during the year which closed on the 31st December, 1930, numbered 3062 volumes of printed books and manuscripts, of which 2393 were obtained by purchase and 669 by gift.

ACCESSIONS TO
THE
LIBRARY
DURING
1930.

The following list represents a selection of the current literature, which has been acquired during the six months that have elapsed since the publication of our last issue.

ART AND ARCHITECTURE : "ARS ASIATICA, vol. 15 : La sculpture de Mathura, par J. P. Vogel," 4to ; BROWN (G. Baldwin), "The arts in early England, vol. 6 : Completion of the study of the monuments of the great period of the art of Anglian Northumbria," 8vo ; BOECKLER (A.), "Abenländische Miniaturen bis zum Ausgang der Romanische Zeit," 8vo ; "CORPUS VASORUM antiquorum : Italia, fasc. 4 : Lecce," Folio ; COOMARASWAMY (A. K.), "Catalogue of the Indian collections in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, part 6 : Mughal painting," 4to ; DU PELOUX (C.), "Répertoire biographique et bibliographique des artistes du 18me siècle français," 8vo ; FORRER (L.), "Biographical dictionary of medallists, coin-, gem- and steel engravers," 8 vols., 8vo ; MURRAY (M. A.), "Egyptian sculpture with a preface by G. A. Gardner (120 illus.)," 8vo ; "RÉPERTOIRE d'art et d'archéologie, Année 1928," 8vo ; RICHTER (G. M. A.), "Animals in Greek sculpture : a survey," 8vo ; SARRE (F.), "Forschungen zur Islamischen Kunst, 5 : Mittelalterliche Gläser und Steinschnittarbeiten aus dem nahen Osten," 2 vols., 4to ; SCHNEIDER (R.), "La peinture Italienne du 16me au 19me siècle," 8vo ; SCHREIBER (W. L.), "Handbuch der Holz- und Metallschnitte des 15 Jhdts." Band 8, 8vo ; "SOCIEDAD ESPAÑOLA

de Amigos del Arte : Esposicion de codices miniados Españoles : catalogo por J. D. BORDONA (150 plates and figures)," Folio ; SWINDLER (M. H.), "Ancient painting from the earliest times to the period of Christian art," 8vo ; STRANG (D.), "The printing of etchings and engravings," 8vo.

BIBLIOGRAPHY : BOÜARD (A. de), "Manuel de diplomatique française et pontificale, 1 : Diplomatie générale," 2 vols., 8vo ; BRUN (R.), "Le livre illustré en France au 16^e siècle," 8vo ; BRITISH MUSEUM, "Catalogue of books printed in the 15th century, part 6 : Italy : Foligno, Ferrara . . . to Treviso," 4to ; "INTERNATIONALE Bibliographie des Buch- und Bibliothekswesens . . . 4^{er} Jahrgang, 1929," 8vo ; JAMES (M. R.) and JENKINS (C.), "A descriptive catalogue of the MSS. in the Library of Lambeth Palace, part 1 (1-97)," 8vo ; LE MOISNE (P. A.), "Les xylographies du 14 et du 15 siècle au Cabinet des Estampes de la Bibliothèque Nationale," 2 vols., 4to ; MAZZATINTI (G.) and SOBRELLI (A.), "Inventari dei manoscritti delle biblioteche d'Italia, tom. 42 : Pesare, 43 : Bologna, 44 : Salò Castiglione Fiorentino, 45 : Pesaro," 8vo ; MUMBY (F. A.), "Publishing and bookselling : a history from the earliest times to the present day," 8vo ; "PRINTING in the 20th century : a survey : the *Times* printing number reprinted with many additional illustrations," 8vo ; RICCI (S. de), "English collectors of books and manuscripts 1530-1930, and their marks of ownership," 8vo ; SANDER (Max), "Prices of incunabula," 8vo ; SINGER (D. W.), "Catalogue of Latin and vernacular MSS. in Great Britain and Ireland dating from before the 16th century," 2 vols., 8vo ; SABARTHÈS (Chanoine), "Les manuscrits consulaires de Limoux (Aude) : étude historique et philologique, 8vo : TCHEMERZINE (A.), "Bibliographie des éditions originales . . . françaises des 15^e et 18^e siècles," 3 vols., 8vo ; TODA Y GUELL (E.), "Bibliographie espanyola d'Italia dels origene de la imprenta fins a l'any 1900," 4 vols., 8vo.

HISTORY AND ARCHÆOLOGY : "ARCHIVIO HISTORICO ESPAÑOL : coleccion de documentos ineditos para la historia de España y de sus Indias," 2 vols., 8vo ; "ARMORIAL général de la noblesse titrée, publié sous la patronage de l'Institut Héraldique Internationale," 2 vols., 8vo ; "ANNUAIRE de la Société des Nations," 1930, 8vo ; ASCOLI (G.), "La Grande Bretagne devant l'opinion française

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SHAKESPEARE'S RECOIL FROM ROMANTICISM.¹

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MANCHESTER.

WHEN last session I was privileged to speak to a John Rylands audience, the object of my lecture was to examine an early play of Shakespeare's in order to ascertain what in general was the prevailing quality of Elizabethan romanticism, and to discover whether such quality was easily amenable to the tradition of drama. The conclusion reached was that when a story, romantic in temper, in person, and in incident, such as is that of *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, is lifted from its *milieu* in the body of literary romance and is re-set for enactment under the conditions which constitute drama, a host of unexpected difficulties emerge in the process of an apparently simple transference. The demands imposed by drama seemed at many points inconsistent with the obligations indigenous to romance, so inconsistent, indeed, that for the moment there may have appeared to be little hope of reconciling one set of claims with the other. It may very well be that when Shakespeare finished *The Two Gentlemen*, oppressed by the devastating effect of its internecine war between the comic and the romantic, out of sheer physical disgust he turned for an antidote to an old play of shrew taming which had scarcely been contaminated at all by any romantic sentiment. If his own *Taming of the Shrew* happened so, he was certainly enjoying a boisterous retaliation on the very sanctum of romance, mocking its sacred creed and profaning its hallowed ritual.

¹ A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on the 12th November, 1930.

The solemn ceremonies of its most ecstatic experience, the sublime mystery of wooing, are sacrilegiously burlesqued. Courtship is transferred from moonlit pleasantries to be set in lawyers' offices, where specialties and covenants suited to a merely mundane contract may be properly drawn. It speaks, not with flowers and songs and flageolets, but with strident argument, with fisticuffs, with three-legged stools for missiles, and even with harsh penal dietaries. The lover in romances nourishes his spirit on the ambrosial air of love alone: but in *The Taming of the Shrew*, from the first appearance of the reprobate old interloper Sly, there is plentiful talk of good eating and drinking, of bread, and beef, and beer.

The Taming of the Shrew is literally Shakespeare's recoil from romance. But it is not proposed in the present argument to pursue the implications peculiar to *The Taming of the Shrew*. That will provide occupation for a later occasion. For the moment, it may be better to face the general situation. It is scarcely likely that *The Taming of the Shrew* was Shakespeare's first recoil from romance, though it is certainly a rollickingly emphatic one. Moreover such recoil and recovery, further recoil and further recovery, make the natural movement of Elizabethan dramatic history: for the fundamental problem of Elizabethan comedy was to discover a mode by which the peculiar romantic temperament of the time might find adequate satisfaction without at the same time depriving itself of such pleasure as an older, a bigger, and a more permanent world had found and was to find in comedy. In so far as Shakespeare and his fellows were Elizabethans, they were romantic; in so far as they were human beings, they inherited man's instinct for the comic. Their difficulty was to know how to be both at once.

Perhaps Shakespeare's first stumblings on the problem carry us back to his earliest attempts at play-making. There is much to be said for taking *Love's Labour's Lost* as his first comedy. It is assuredly his least substantial; and the one more than any other circumscribed by the fashions of his day. It is made of such stuff as a Tatler, a Bystander, or a revue-maker would offer us in ours. But as far as there is in it a colouring sentiment, it is the exuberant assertion of the high claims of romance, not only of its exalted ecstasies, but of the exclusive spiritual values of the romantic doctrine of love.

For when would you, my lord, or you, or you,
 Have found the ground of study's excellence
 Without the beauty of a woman's face?
 From women's eyes this doctrine I derive;
 They are the ground, the books, the academes
 From whence doth spring the true Promethean fire.
 Why, universal plodding prisons up
 The nimble spirits in the arteries,
 As motion and long-during action tires
 The sinewy vigour of the traveller.

For when would you, my liege, or you, or you,
 In leaden contemplation have found out
 Such fiery numbers as the prompting eyes
 Of beauty's tutors have enrich'd you with?
 Other slow arts entirely keep the brain;
 And therefore, finding barren practisers,
 Scarce show a harvest of their heavy toil:
 But love, first learned in a lady's eyes,
 Lives not alone immured in the brain;
 But, with the motion of all elements,
 Courses as swift as thought in every power,
 And gives to every power a double power,
 Above their functions and their offices.
 It adds a precious seeing to the eye;
 A lover's eyes will gaze an eagle blind;
 A lover's ears will hear the lowest sound,
 When the suspicious head of theft is stopp'd:
 Love's feeling is more soft and sensible
 Than are the tender horns of cockled snails;
 Love's tongue proves dainty Bacchus gross in taste:
 For valour, is not Love a Hercules,
 Still climbing trees in the Hesperides?
 Subtle as Sphinx; as sweet and musical
 As bright Apollo's lute, strung with his hair;
 And when Love speaks, the voice of all the gods
 Make heaven drowsy with the harmony.

—(IV. iii. 299 ff.)

This is a novel educational curriculum; and those of us who are slavishly habituated to books and to mundane scholastic institutions, may feel a little diffident before abolishing our organisations to set up in their place these Promethean academies of women's eyes. Or at least, seeing the King, Biron, Longaville and Dumain as the disciples of the new programme, we may feel entitled to somewhat more substantial proofs of its value than they provide: for as scholars, they are

but poor advertisements for a new school, and their Prometheanism seems, if anything, still further to blind them to rudimentary differences between green geese and goddesses.

But though *Love's Labour's Lost* is mere gay trifling, its peculiar gaiety almost frustrates itself by the formlessness and the spinelessness of the thing as a play. And Shakespeare's first recoil from the insouciant romantic formlessness of *Love's Labour's Lost* seems to have been a feeling that plays without backbone are hopelessly crippled. No plot, no play. And so apparently the recoil turned him to Classical Comedy. Putting himself to school to Plautus for his *Comedy of Errors*, he submitted himself to a discipline which, however uncongenial to the spirit, was a salutary apprenticeship to the mechanics of play-building. But it was much more than that. When Shakespeare took the Roman comedians for his pattern, he was reverting to the practice on which his English predecessors, and French and Italian pioneers before them, had established the new comedy of modern Europe. Modern comedy begins with Plautus and Terence; and the shades of Menander need not here be invoked to measure his contribution to the endowment.

It is easy to be unjust to classical comedy, and to Plautus and Terence. A modern, or even a sixteenth-century reader of Roman comedy, may find in it nothing but a string of ludicrous intrigues. It appears to be absorbed in mere incidents, to be farce at most, and rarely to attain to comedy in our modern sense. But events and situations which strike us as only isolated examples of the ludicrous, interesting or otherwise merely for themselves, may in the past have had a larger significance for contemporaries. When Shakespeare took the stories of Plautus for his *Comedy of Errors*, he could only take their material substance; their significance remained behind in the Roman civilisation of two thousand years ago. Even a colourable English imitation can impart little of the original but its external features. We roar hilariously at the ludicrous predicament and the crude discomfiture of bawd and pimp and procurer in play after play of Plautus and Terence. But the display is a farce for our entertainment, lacking almost all such repercussion in the circumstances of our social existence as would raise it to the level of comedy. Yet in our own day, if a dramatist calls any of Mrs. Warren's profession into his

dramatis personae, without further thought he is taken to be a playwright obsessed with the notion of turning his plays to profound problems of our social life. It is at least worth examining Roman comedy to discover whether its vitality is merely due to its expertness in theatrical trickery, or, on the contrary, whether it had not a larger hold on the idea of comedy.

All that is commonly known of the Romans would argue a particular aptitude for the art of comedy. Their paramount interests were social and civic; their boast was to be citizens of no mean city. They had, of course, an urban delight in Sabine farms; but they were emphatically men of the world. Problems of conduct were more urgent for them than were enquiries into belief. They discussed morals more eagerly than they embarked on metaphysical speculations. They were more at home in law courts and market-places than in temples. On a large scale, their social interest effected the political organisation of the empire. In a narrower circle, it made for the establishment of institutions, conventions, and manners calculated to assure for man the advantages and the amenities of intercourse with his fellows in ordered corporate life. Society became for them a sort of citizen's club. From such a point of view, virtue is largely a matter of good form. "Leniter qui saeviunt sapiunt magis:" don't be too hard on a youth's frolics, says old Philoxenus (*Bacchides*, 408): and though his later actions show him as a poor pattern of right conduct, he has nevertheless the sympathetic worldly wisdom and the tolerant human understanding which commend him to his audience. "Paulisper, Lyde, est libido homini suo animo obsequi:" only for a time is a decent fellow eager to indulge his passions, and very soon he comes to hate himself for doing so—"iam aderit tempus, cum sese etiam ipse oderit." In the meantime, bear with offenders who keep just on the right side of the allowed margin—"praeter aequom ne quid delinquat." Morality is at best a sense of decency and a respect for property. In your escapades, avoid disgrace in the eyes of your fellows: that is the rule prescribed for the young spark:—

ita tuom conferto amare semper, si sapis,
ne id quod ames populus si sciat, tibi sit probro.

—(*Curculio*, 28.)

So long as you keep off another man's preserves, the world is free for your pleasures :

nemo ire quemquam publica prohibet via ;
dum ne per fundum saeptum facias semitam,
dum ted abstineas nupta, vidua, virgine,
iuventute et pueris liberis, ama quid lubet.

—(*Curculio*, 35 ff.)

Thus propriety, wherein property and decency merge, is the standard of good form, the pledge and safeguard of common welfare. Wrong varies with person, and particularly with time and place. "Itidem ut tempus anni, aetatem aliam aliud factum condecet" (*Mercator*, 984), an old man is told when he is being reproved for acts lightly condoned in his own son's case :

nam!si istuc ius est, senecta aetate scortari senes,
ubi locist res summa nostra publica ?

The very pillars of society are shaken by such offences against decorum ; youth is precluded from exercising its own prerogative, if it must compete with old men, and especially with old men who can control its material resources. Old Demipho is not only held up to scorn for his own goatishness ; he is particularly reproached for filching a properly purchased mistress from his own son :

nam te istac aetate haud aequom filio fuerat tuo
adulescenti amanti amicam eripere emptam argento suo.

—(*Mercator*, 972.)

That is the good form of Roman comedy, though, of course, not necessarily of Rome itself. But comedy is generally a closer historian of its society than the members of it would willingly admit, and often indeed far truer than they would trouble to realise. Evil, for Roman comedy, lies not in wickedness and in sin : its root is unclubbable-ness. The enemies of society are not the villains who defy it overtly ; for society has prisons strong enough to exclude the villain from his evil-doing. Its most numerous enemies are those who, whilst managing a livelihood recognised and approved by society, abuse the circumstances which justify their existence. So the comic dramatist never ceases to scourge parasites, and lays the lash in all his plays on pimps and bawds and procurers, because they are prone to take unfair advantage of their allowed status, and thus vastly to diminish the resources of a youth, who

after his apprenticeship in the big world of which they are a part, will succeed to full social responsibility.

But though bawds and courtesans occur in every play, they are never the main figures in Roman comedy. They come in incidentally to take their share of ignominy and contempt. Far more dangerous enemies of society are those whose formal rights to full membership of it are unquestionable, but whose personal qualities render them incapable of recognising its obligations. The man one blackballs at the club-election is not he whose discretion keeps his private immoralities under the rose, but he whose irrepressible babbling perpetually breaks into the silence of the reading-room. It is arrogances of this sort which arouse the contempt or the amusement of those whose chief care is to maintain the decencies. And Rome not only created satire ; it seized on the opportunity to convert Greek comedy into a still more effective because a more social weapon than is literary satire for the preservation of the conventions which make corporate social life possible and pleasant. Comedy exposed offences against social decorum by rendering the offenders ludicrous. Its significance lay almost exclusively in its social satire. It is this which determined its range of interest, its favourite characters and its typical mechanism. Doubtless the mechanism—plottings, intrigues, tricks and deceptions—admirable as it was for its significant purpose, was just the sort to get out of hand, and to go on gyrating simply by its own momentum, thereby the more easily deluding a modern reader into taking it for a merely mechanical contrivance. But the spirit of comedy itself is the power which animates the plays of Plautus, and, though less vigorously, those also of Terence.

It is a comedy essentially realistic in temper. In matter, also, its realism is closer than a first glance reveals. Not only are its people very much the people of the earth, they are the men and women of its own day, though for the story they are not infrequently called upon to appear in conventional rather than in realistic situations. In heart and mind they are Roman contemporaries of Plautus, though their name and often, too, their dresses are Greek. Nominally, too, the scene is Greece : but on closer description, it is no other than their familiar Rome, endowed in fact with localities and institutions actually peculiar to Rome. Perhaps the Watch Committee of Rome insisted on this nomenclature : in any case, the motive of it is a strong social

instinct, protecting the feelings of society even against its own protectors, the comic dramatists. Moreover, it may very well be that as its stock-types are the perpetual and timeless nuisances of social intercourse, bores, busibodies, braggarts and such like, and are therefore common to all comedy, ancient and modern, Greek and Roman, they are often allowed to appear in an inherited conventional form which is not completely naturalised to Roman society ; superficially, the parasite may be more of a particular parasite in Greece, and less of a general sponger in Rome. But the plays abound in incidental details which reveal how thoroughly steeped they are in the circumstances of Roman life. There is Menæchmus, for instance, tripping off to a surreptitious lunch at his mistress's maisonette, flouting the ordinances of God, the decencies of man, and the wrath of his wife to do so. But the tasty dishes must be left to go cold, and the mistress to excite herself into such a tantrum that only an expensive present will mollify her, all through a peculiarly Roman incident which none but a Roman could encounter, which would have kept none but a Roman from his lust, and which perhaps was the only sanction capable of so restraining a Roman. By mere accident, on his way to his mistress's, Menæchmus ran into one of his dependents who then and there demanded his help in the law-courts (*Menæchmi*, 588 ff.).

The outstanding feature of the whole body of Roman comedy is that whilst it is full of sex, it is almost entirely devoid of love. There is nothing in it of love as modern literature makes love. Mere names are misleading. Most of the plots of the Roman dramatists are intrigues in pursuit of a woman ; and often, too, the plotter is a passionate youth. But the object is almost invariably illicit : the *Captivi* stands almost alone for its chastity, and it was so marked a departure from custom that Plautus bragged of it—or apologised for it—in an epilogue :

Spectatores, ad pudicos mores facta haec fabula est,
neque in hac subigationes sunt neque ulla amatio.

—(1029 ff.)

In the rest of the whole Roman repertory, there is nothing at all rightly to be called a wooing, for wooing was fashioned by romantic sentiment still to be learnt by man in the evolution of his consciousness. The way of a Roman youth with the maids or the one-time maids of Roman comedy was the way of solicitation : and solicitation is a social institution. Its practice was a branch of social economics ; familiarity

with its ways and means was incidental to the daily routine of the proficient citizen, and was therefore a necessary discipline in the curriculum of youth. But the extent to which youth avails himself of the system has little bearing on his reputation for essential morality ; and, of course, however much he sought for experience in this kind, he could not, by the nature of the case, regard it as an occasion for promoting any sort of union but mere unions of the flesh. This is Plautus's Latin *amare*, but it is not English *love*. The sensations comprised in the two terms may have a large community, but the sentiments attaching thereto have little in common. The words expressing the passion may still survive as a prevailing idiom :

Quia si illa inventa est, quam ille amat, recte valet ;
 si non inventa est, minus valet moribundusque est.
 animast amica amanti : si abest, nullus est ;
 si adest, res nullast : ipso est, nequam et miser.

—(*Bacchides*, 191 ff.)

This is very near the text of Valentine's lament for Silvia's absence—

banished from her
 Is self from self : a deadly banishment.
 What light is light, if Silvia be not seen ?
 What joy is joy, if Silvia be not by ?

She is my essence, and I leave to be,
 If I be not by her fair influence
 Foster'd, illumined, cherish'd, kept alive.

—(*Two Gentlemen of Verona*, III. i. 172 ff.)

And Leonida, witnessing the enforced parting of his young master and Philenium, saw a sight such as was seen when Proteus parted from Julia—"lacrumantem lacinia tenet lacrumans" (*Asinaria*, 587). But both these girls in Plautus were inmates of a bawdy house, and only the conventional coincidences of his plots was in the end miraculously to cleanse them from the contamination of it.

There are moreover moments when the lover in Roman comedy utters as with the tongue of an Elizabethan sonneteer the exquisite pains of love-longing, describing its bitter-sweet ravages and its all-absorbing tyranny :

Credo ego Amorem primum apud homines carnificinam commentum.
 hanc ego de me coniecturam domi facio, ni foris quaeram,
 qui omnes homines supero [atque] antideo cruciabilatibus animi.

iactor [crucior] agitor stimolor, versor
 in amoris rota, miser exanimor,
 feror differor distrahor diripior,
 ita nubilam mentem animi habeo.
 Ubi sum, ibi non sum, ubi non sum, ibist animus,
 ita mi omnia sunt ingenia;
 quod lubet, non lubet iam id continuo,
 ita me Amor lassum animi ludificat,
 fugat, agit, appetit, raptat, retinet,
 lactat, largitur: quod dat non dat; deludit:
 modo quod suasit, id dissuadet,
 quod dissuasit, id ostentat.
 maritumis moribus mecum experitur:
 ita meum frangit amantem animum;
 neque, nisi quia miser non eo pessum,
 mihi ulla abest perditio perimities.

—(*Cistellaria*, 203 ff.)

At rarer moments, the most exquisite and exalted raptures of the romantic lover seem but echoes of a voice from a Roman play—"Bid me to cross seas for a kiss from you," says Stratophanes to Phronesium, "and I would leap at once to claim it"—

si hercle me ex medio mari
 savium petere tuom iubeas, petere hau pigeat [me],
 mel meum:

—(*Truculentus*, 527.)

But Stratophanes is a braggart mouthing it bombastically for comic effect, and the lady, to whose lips he aspires, is a whore playing with him for her own profit. Even Alcesimarchas who sang the hymn to love in phrases so romantically Elizabethan was stirred to sing it by his passion for a girl whom he had bought of a procuress, and with whom as yet he could not have dreamed of decent marriage.

It cannot then be doubted that, despite superficial similarities in phrase, for these young Romans love is other than it was for Shakespeare and his contemporaries. The points where in appearance they seem to touch, yet in reality remain completely and diametrically opposed, are nowhere better illustrated than in the long soliloquy, too long to cite, with which Charinus opens *Mercator*. Physical and nervous sensations are common to both experiences; but the accompanying sentiments are as remote from each other as earth is from Heaven. Scapha, as old and experienced in the world as Juliet's nurse, put the Roman view succinctly when she warned Philematium, still young in the arts of allurements,

non vestem amatores amant [mulieris], sed vestis fartim.

—(*Mostellaria*, 169.)

But Juliet and Shakespeare had left the world of her Nurse and of Scapha many centuries behind them.

It is entirely misleading to name Roman plays love-plays unless an ample gloss is appended to illustrate the peculiar and exclusive connotation of the term, a connotation characteristically exemplified by such incidents as those which fill *Casina*. Cleostrata is doing her utmost to further her son's suit for Casina : but her motive for abetting him is merely to frustrate her husband's (and, of course, her son's father's) lust for the girl. The plotters on both sides resort to the coarsest bestiality to achieve satisfaction of their appetites : Cleostrata would secure Casina for her son by marrying her to his complaisant servant ; and her husband plans to reserve the girl for his own use by marrying her to his bailiff Olympio, who is quite willing to have her on those terms. The whole mentality of the lover in Roman comedy is contained in old Antipho's proposal to her son-in-law, with whom he is trying to strike a bargain to obtain a music-girl from the son-in-law for his own purposes :

ego tibi meam filiam, bene quicum cubitares, dedi :

nunc mihi reddi ego aequom esse abs te quicum cubitem censeo.

—(*Stichus*, 547.)

These are words modern feeling prefers to leave in the Latin to which they belong.

O lyric love, half-angel and half-bird,
And all a wonder and a wild surprise.

Terence, it is generally held, shows less of the beast in these matters. But if there is a difference in degree, it is too slight to count against the immeasurable distance separating all Roman love from that of the poets of Shakespeare's day. One of Terence's heroines, for instance, a girl in his *Eunuch*, implores her lover to permit her, as a means for securing their mutual pleasures in future, to give herself to a rival so that by her service he may be made to help them :

sola sum ; habeo hic neminem,
neque amicum neque cognatum ; quamobrem, Phaedria,
cupio aliquos parare amicos beneficio meo.
id, amabo, adiuta me, quo id fiat facilius :
sine illum priores partes hosce aliquot dies
apud me habere.

—(*Eunuchus*, 147 ff.)

And the other hero of the same play pays his devotion to his lady by intruding himself, disguised as a eunuch, into the service of her guardian, and raping her in her sleep. "Do lovers in romances sin that way?" It is a code of behaviour exclusive to classic comedy.

As Roman comedy concerns itself with sexual appetite rather than with love, it is necessarily far less limitedly occupied with young men and girls than is romantic comedy. It has its young men, of course; perhaps in mere number they preponderate, for after all they are the society of the future. They must be apprenticed to citizenship of the world, and of a very earthy and a very fleshly world. But the sowing of wild oats is an excellent discipline; and the amorous escapades of young bloods are to be condoned or even tacitly approved. Complacent indulgence could hardly exceed that of Demaenetus in the *Asinaria*. He will purchase his son's filial love by buying the son a mistress, even as he in his youth was supplied by his own father—and all of it, in the name of proper *pietas*:

praesertim quom is me dignum quoi concrederet
habuit, me habere honorem eius ingenio decet;
quom me adiit, ut pudentem gnatum aequomst patrem . . . et cetera
—(*Asinaria*, 80 ff.)

These pleasant disportings of undisciplined youth justify a mild reproach. Better still, they allow the comic dramatist to warn an inexperienced and full-blooded young fellow how properly to deal with, and not to be out-witted by, such mercenary social necessities as pimps. Terence, of course, would add that a young man is let loose amongst the bawds to learn to hate them: but that is Terence's nominal excuse for Plautus's habitual practice:

me reperisse, quo modo adolescentulus
meretricum ingenia et mores posset noscere:
mature ut quum cognorit, perpetuo oderit.
Quae dum foris sunt, nihil videtur mundius,
nec magis compositum quidquam nec magis elegans:
quae, cum amatore suo quum coenant, liguriunt.
harum videre ingluviem, sordes, inopiam.

—(*Eunuchus*, 931 ff.)

Young men, therefore, are naturally admitted to Roman comedy to exhibit their venal follies. But their right of entry differs greatly from that of the *jeune premier* into modern drama, who enters, not to be laughed at, but to be idolised as the perfect lover. Even if

Plautus and Terence had known such a lover, they would have found almost insuperable material obstacles in the way of exhibiting him in his characteristic *milieu*: for social custom, and the theatrical imitation of it, rigidly prevented the free-born respectable girl from emerging openly into the normal intercourse of daily affairs. Girls who could be loved in the romantic sense were, therefore, excluded from Roman plays, and only those appear who may be solicited in the way of their trade. The real situation is not altered by the fact that, as a rule, dramatists claimed the privilege to discover at the end of the play that most of the girls they had taken from brothels had, in fact, been accidentally recruited to the profession by some mischance or other which had caused their respectable and free birth to remain hidden. Not infrequently, indeed, the dramatists asserted that they had preserved the chastity of these chosen inmates of houses of ill fame. But even the largest extension of such a purely theatrical convention hardly avails to alter the character of these young girls of Roman comedy. Here, at least, are no Silvias, no Perditas, no Mirandas. The two young girls, the Bacchides, for instance, for love of whom the gallant young heroes of the piece plan their stratagems, are doubtless charming prizes; but to win their young men, they trick these young men's fathers by an exhibition of extreme expertness in the enticing arts of professional solicitation. And Philenium, to secure whose love Argyrippus becomes the young hero of the *Asinaria*, not only plays a similar part by alluring his lascivious father into a compromising situation; she reveals her nature and her trade by the remark she jestingly throws after the old fool when his wife comes on them suddenly to drag him from her embraces—"de palla memento, amabo," "don't forget the dress you promised me, sweetheart" (*Asinaria*, 949). She is even truer to her craft in the jibe with which follows this up; for, as the old lecher's wife orders him home, Philenium, enjoying his discomfiture, begs him to give her a kiss at least, before he goes: "da savium etiam prius quam abis," "just one kiss before we part." Most of the ladies of these plays are unashamedly bent on making the best bargains out of their casual and promiscuous lovers.

But the young men and the girls and their mutual loves were not the dramatist's main concern. They gave him a situation suited to his comic needs, but in themselves they were subsidiary, and might even

be left out entirely. Casina gives her name to a play of which the nominal subject is the love of Euthynicus for her ; but neither Casina nor Euthynicus appear even once in the play. Their complete exclusion is a little drastic even for classical comedy. Youth is by no means so barren a field in which to find folly. But, after all, there is no fool like an old fool. It is the old men who are prime favourites with classical dramatists. Even where the dominant interest brings the sexes together, a libidinous or merely amorous old man is richer matter for comedy than is a hot-blooded youth. Not that the world will be too hard on the occasional flings of an old man. Periplectomenus is the genial pattern of an old bachelor : but he prides himself that he retains sympathy with and capacity for these pleasures :—

et ego amoris aliquantum habeo umorisque etiam in corpore
neque dum exarui ex amoenis rebus et voluptariis.

—(*Miles Gloriosus*, 639.)

Even old benedicts may be permitted casual aberrations, for such incidents are neither new nor wonderful nor uncommon nor unintelligible :—

Hic senex si quid clam uxorem suo animo fecit volup,
neque novom neque mirum fecit nec secus quam alii solent ;
nec quisquam est tam ingenio duro nec tam firmo pectore,
quin ubi quicque occasionis sit sibi faciat bene.

—(*Asinaria*, 942 ff.)

But the very tolerance made the dramatists more alert to pour contempt on excesses. The epilogue to the *Bacchides* preaches its moral. These old men have disgraced humanity, not because they have planned illicit loves, but because, instead of demeaning themselves decorously in licentiousness by taking mistresses in the open market, they have tried to commandeer their sons' light o' loves.

Hi senes nisi fuissent nihili iam inde ab adolescentia,
non hodie hoc tantum flagitium facerent canis capitibus ;
neque adeo haec faceremus, ni antehac vidissemus fieri,
ut apud lenones rivalet filii fierent patres.

—(*Bacchides*, 1207 ff.)

The general object of the dramatist's satire in these cases, and its particular point, are declared at the end of the *Mercator* :—

Immo dicamus senibus legem censeo,
 prius quam abeamus, qua se lege teneant contentique sint.
 annos gnatus sexaginta qui erit, si quem scibimus
 si maritum sive hercle adeo caelibem scortarier,
 cum eo nos hac lege agemus : inscitum arbitrabimur,
 et per nos quidem hercle egebit qui suum prodegerit
 neu quisquam posthac prohibeto adolescentem filium
 quin amet et scortum ducat, quod bono fiat modo ;
 siquis prohibuerit, plus perdet clam quasi praehibuerit palam.
 haec adeo ut ex hac nocte primum lex teneat senes.

—(*Mercator*, 1015 ff.)

But the folly of an old fool not only emerges through his libidinousness. The very crabbedness of crabbed age is its passport into universal comedy ; for such is its conventional characteristic, and it is a property alien by its very nature from the ends and the uses of society. Grumpiness, tyrannising, niggardliness, joy-killing—these are ills to which old age is particularly liable, and these are patently hostile to any and every notion of sociability. Wherefore old men are doubly qualified for the protagonist's rôle in Roman comedy.

The real significance of old men in classical comedy has been obscured by the gallivantings of its youngsters and by our habit of reading wrong values into these revelries. Their part would appear in truer light if they themselves could be extricated from the sensuality which spreads itself over all Roman comedy like a fog and distorts our view of it. But as no Roman dramatist has written for us a play in which such separation is consistent, it may not be amiss to construct a Roman comedy for ourselves.

Its main figure will be an old man, some old fool afflicted with a disease fatal to the health and vigour of social life. With the help of Molière, it is easy to diagnose, in the many unsocial symptoms of Plautus's and Terence's patients, one particularly virulent malady the effects of which, whilst not in themselves exhibiting lustfulness, are yet no less malignant to the well-being of society. Let our hero be a miser : for miserliness dams up the circulation of the material resources of life. As our protagonist, the miser is to be the man whose follies will move us to hilarious contempt. At the outset, there he sits on his money-bags, and our comedy, if it does not cure this covetous man of his covetousness, must at least make it plain to the audience that miserliness is a profitless occupation. The comedy must wrest the

money-bags from the miser. An obvious device therefore would be to introduce a burglar as a character in the play. Bare theft is indeed not rare in Roman comedy ; but it is not an ideal instrument ; for the burglar is in fact as unsocial an institution as the miser. Something less anarchic than sheer robbery is desirable. What is needed is a figure, who, taking the money bags, will carry also the partial sympathy of the audience ; some one who is merely anticipating a claim sanctioned by social custom. Give the old miser a son. So the young man enters the story. He does so, however, not in virtue of the general attractiveness of youth. His primary qualification for admission to the play is that, if he should need money, our audience will tacitly recognise in him some sort of right to his father's hoard. He must at all costs, therefore, be in need of money. Our plot may almost write itself for the next act. Young men are most in need of money when they are thinking of marrying and setting up house. Wherefore, let the miser's son find himself in that happy plight, and let him convince us of his passion for the lady by displaying the usual symptoms in manner and in word. But here is an unexpected quandary. He wants money to provide himself with a wife. He seeks our permission to help himself from the family chest ; but, obviously, to secure our consent, he must produce the lady and assure us of her worthiness to be the occasion of a slightly irregular financial transaction. He cannot, however, present her to us : for any lady such as he might marry is strictly forbidden to make such a public appearance. Hence our plot cannot avail itself of any proposals for a genuine marriage. But our young man must need money ; betrothals barred, he must be involved in a less proper situation, caught in the toils of the sort of woman he could not marry. Let him be mixed up in a liaison with some mistress or other. It may appear a much less reputable predicament : but it will at least extend the reach of our comic lash. Procurers and all who trade in sex will be additional material ; and there will also be the advantage, that whilst furthering our young hero's schemes, we shall have occasion for administering suitable admonishment. Maybe, too, the predicament will more effectively serve our primary comic purpose : for the miser will endure a more bitter torment in seeing his wealth converted into necklets for a whore than in merely having to accept an anticipation of the post-mortem change of ownership from father to son.

So our scenario is complete. All now needed is a plot by which

the old man's money may be transferred to assist the young man in his dilemma. A modern may find difficulty in contriving a suitable machinery for an operation of this sort. But at this point a Roman had no difficulty : he had a perfect mechanism ready-made for him. A distinctive feature of his social institutions provided him with an ideal instrument for the purpose, the particular domestic slave who acted as manservant in the household. This person's office provided him with ample opportunity for attempts of the requisite kind, and his mode of life had produced in him the qualities of character, mind, and aptitude fitting him to execute the attempt expertly.

Saepe ego res multas tibi mandavi, Milphio,
dubias, egenas, inopiosas consili,
quas tu sapienter, docte et cordate et cate
mihi reddidisti opiparas opera tua.

—(*Poenulus*, 129-132.)

Davus and his sort are therefore indispensable figures in Roman comedy. They are the contrivers of its plots. "Machinabor machinam" says one of them (*Bacchides*, 232). Like all of them, his special office is to engineer the intrigue. To succeed in this, he requires all the ingenuity, the unscrupulous cunning and the quick-witted shiftiness traditional in his kind. Chrysalus expounds the essentials of the craft :—

nequius nil est quam egens consili servos, nisi
habet multipotens pectus :
ubicumque usus siet, pectore expromat suo.
nullus frugi esse potest homo,
nisi qui et bene et male facere tenet.
improbis cum improbus sit, harpaget furibus,
furetur quod queat,
vorsipellem frugi convenit esse hominem,
pectus quoi sapit : bonus sit bonis, malus sit malis ;
utcumque res sit, ita animum habeat.

—(*Bacchides*, 651 ff.)

With a real artist's pride in his artfulness, he compares his achievements with those who acquired fame in the Trojan war :—

Atridae duo fratres cluent fecisse facinus maxumum,
quom Priami patriam Pergamum divina moenitum manu
armis, equis, exercitu atque eximiis bellatoribus
mille cum numero navium decumo anno post subegerunt.
non pedibus termento fuit praeut ego erum expugnabo meum
sine classe sineque exercitu et tanto numero militum.

—(*Ibid.*, 925 ff.)

The sympathies of rascals like this will naturally turn them from their ageing master to his friskier son, in whose frolics they will find so many congenial pleasures. They will eagerly participate in his riotous drinking and drabbing. The gay life they could hope to lead in such circumstances is set out by one of the sedater sort in his reproach to Tranio, who is typical of the others :—

nunc, dum tibi lubet licetque, pota, perde rem,
corrumpe erilem adulescentem optimum ;
dies noctesque bibite, pergraecamini,
amicas emite liberate, pascite
parasitos, obsonate pollucibiliter.

—(*Mostellaria*, 20 ff.)

As a Tranio, a Davus, a Chrysalus so readily transfers his allegiance from his master to his master's son, our scene is ready set for the machinations that will form the intrigue for outwitting the old man, and will thus provide our play with its plot.

There is no Roman play quite like the one here outlined. But this is their type. This is the type which Shakespeare, borrowing his *Comedy of Errors* from the *Mencæchmi* and *Amphitruo*, chose for his model. Yet, though he clung closely to Plautus, inevitably he lost much and changed still more of his originals. Transplanting stories to other societies in other and later periods of time is bound to sever them from that which gives them their essential significance. Moreover, these Roman stories are so closely built into the fabric of Roman society and its mind, that a transference of the mere story carries over with it elements, incidents, or scenes, which must remain aliens in their new homes. In particular there are these all-important men-servants. The English bourgeoisie of the sixteenth-century had no exact counterpart of them in their households. Hence the Dromios are exotic on the English stage. In England, menial servants who are soundly kicked at frequent intervals are hardly likely to be taken into the confidential personal secrets of the masters ; nor does one expect to find such pantry boys whiling away their leisure with sixth-form dissipations. There are, however, moments when their kitchen gossip brings the Dromios nearer home, and the fat cook's amorousness almost domesticates one of the Dromios permanently in England (*Comedy of Errors*, III. iii.). But though she haunted him, he escaped from her and ran back into the theatrical convention in

which alone he has his existence. There is spontaneous roguishness in the way in which Dromio of Ephesus, as the climax to his account of the supposed husband's misdemeanours, adds to the husband's words an unspoken and all-round contempt for the wife to whom Dromio is telling the tale—"hang up thy mistress" (II. i. 68). But for the rest, if Maud, Bridget, Marion, Cicely, Gillian, and Ginn had been allowed to show themselves at Dromio's call (III. i. 31), neither he nor his brother would have survived comparison with the real native article. Even as merely theatrical conventions, the Dromios are but shadows of their dramatic originals. In their new surroundings on an English stage, circumstance scarcely ever allows them to be the engineers of the story. Almost invariably, they are merely its clowns.

With less important persons of the Plautine plays, figures whose rôle is merely incidental, Shakespeare may effect a complete anglicisation. The man in buff, for instance, and Pinch the quack, are straight from the streets of London. But general naturalisation is impossible. Many of the favoured incidents which make a Roman intrigue lose all semblance of credibility when assembled in a modern play. Loss of children by shipwreck, drastic penal laws to safeguard petty economic systems, summary courts of justice at the street-corner—these are details harder to bring to life on a London stage than on one in ancient Rome.

But in taking his story from Plautus, Shakespeare frankly accepted all these limitations. The Dromios are mere stage clowns. Ephesus is a town where Lapland witches delight in playing spookish tricks on men and women. Farce expands to extravaganza. To give the farcical a larger scope, Shakespeare doubled the source of it in Plautus by providing twin Dromios for the twin Antipholi he took from his Roman original. The plot becomes a sort of mathematical exhibition of the maximum number of erroneous combinations of four people taken in pairs. The bustle leaves no room for characterisation, the persons in it enduring their lot as in a nightmare. Even the stock-types of the original are largely useless. The parasite, Peniculus, in Plautus was a genuine property of the Roman stage, and therefore Shakespeare dropped him overboard *en route*, as he would have been an utter foreigner in Elizabethan England. In one point only did the English dramatist find that he could import something of the social application of the Latin play.

In the *Menæchmi*, Plautus plays lightly with the folly of shrewish wives. It is a common theme in Roman comedy. It was an almost inevitable outcome of their marriage system : marriages were marriages of convenience, the wife bringing with her a dowry over which she retained control, and, though divorces were easily procurable, when a rejected wife returned to her parents, she took her dowry back with her. Such marriages must often have proved unhappy bargains ; but release was an expensive luxury. Most of the husbands in Roman plays grumble at their hard lot. Demænetus complains that when he married, he sold his liberty : “ argentum accepi, dote imperium vendidi ” (*Asinaria*, 87) ; and Simo describes the inevitable consequence :—

Quom magis cogito cum meo animo :
si quis dotatam uxorem atque anum habet,
neminem sollicitat sopor : ibi omnibus
ire dormitum odio est.

—(*Mostellaria*, 702 ff.)

Every husband in Plautus seems to have a nagging, shrewish, wife. And genial old bachelors like Periplecomenus rejoice that though with their own riches they could have wived it wealthily, they have been frightened off marrying, lest they should find themselves housed with a yapping bitch—“ sed nolo mi oblatratricem in aedis intro mittere ” (*Miles Gloriosus*, 681). Free from them himself, Periplecomenus can present a lively picture of the daily torments a husband must endure.

In the play to which Shakespeare turned for his *Comedy of Errors*, there is a wife and she is, of course, something of a shrew. But she is only half-heartedly so. She is, however, reprimanded for her behaviour ; and, very significantly, the reprimand comes from the mouth of her own father. He has obviously more sympathy with the husband than with his daughter. He reminds her that it is her duty to be grateful for the material comforts her husband provides for her :—

quando te auratam et vestitam bene habet, ancillas penum
recte præhibet, melius sanam et, mulier, mentem sumere.

—(*Menæchmi*, 801 ff.)

As a father, he reminds her, he has frequently had to urge her to be complacent, not to spy and pry into her husband's affairs :—

Quotiens monstravi tibi, viro ut morem geras,
quid ille faciat, ne id observes, quo eat, quid rerum gerat.

—(*Ibid.*, 787 ff.)

He goes so far as explicitly to approve of the husband's resort to a courtesan in retaliation for his wife's nagging, adding that to complain about the particular sort of pleasure he has chosen is to treat him as one would treat a slave ! Only when the wife adds that the husband is stealing her property to provide presents for his mistress, does the old man find the husband clearly in the wrong. The attitude of mind is characteristic. He rebuked his daughter for her feminine inability to understand the material situation : by her blindness to the economic principles of house-keeping, she was causing an uneconomic distribution of the household's wealth between wife and courtesan.

But when a story embodying a situation like this of the *Meneachmi* is brought into sixteenth-century England, it has ceased to be a problem of domestic economy. The question of fidelity in wedlock is primary : and as the plot involves infidelity, Shakespeare is compelled to provide Antipholus with more immediate provocation for his lapse. So he draws on another play, the *Amphitruo*, and only allows Antipholus to resort to the courtesan when he has been locked out of his own house by his own wife who at the moment is entertaining a man whom she mistakenly assumes to be no other than her own husband. But even so, in the English play, the husband's drastic retaliation calls for a much greater emphasis on the shrewishness of his wife, Adriana, than appears in the Plautine counterpart.

Shakespeare's Adriana is doubtless shrew, virago and vixen to boot. She breaks the servants' pates across, though that hardly gives her characteristic distinction in a play in which fisticuffs are the regular means of intercourse. She rails at bed and board, and jealousy gives venom to her clamours, adding to them a virulence of which Plautus could scarcely avail himself, for it is only love in the modern sense "which is full of jealousy." An English shrew, moreover, much more than a Roman one, is hampered by memories of the affection she once had for the man of her choice. Adriana even fondles at times. But her single lapse into the broken-hearted bride who will weep and die in tears is a fall both from type and from character. A more credibly humanising trait appears in her excited enlargement of the tale of her husband's frenzied acts : the duke is treated to a display of rumour's growth, as facts swell with fancy when she recounts the incidents she thought she had seen.

(V. i. 136 ff.). Yet at the end of the play, the shrew is not so much out of countenance as she was meant to be. One cannot but remember that the person solemnly reproving Adriana for her shrewishness is not, as in Plautus, her own natural parent, but her mother-in-law. Nor does her husband appear to suffer much spiritual disquiet from her moods. A man who conducts a domestic tiff by calling his wife a dissembling harlot, and by threats to pluck out her eyes, is not too sensitive a fellow and has a sufficient protection in the thickness of his skin. Indeed, the general temper of the life depicted in *The Comedy of Errors* is so crude, coarse, and brutal, that Adriana's fault appears to be not so much her shrewishness as her undiplomatic use of it. Even the abbess accuses her of nothing more heinous than bad tactics :—

In food, in sport, and life-preserving rest
To be disturb'd, would mad or man or beast :
The consequence is then thy jealous fits
Have scared thy husband from the use of wits.

—(V. i. 83 ff.)

But there is one person in the scene for whom this explanation is entirely inadequate. Luciana, sister of Adriana, breaks in on the abbess's reproaches :—

She never reprehended him but mildly,
When he demean'd himself rough, rude and wildly.
Why bear you these rebukes and answer not ?

The challenge is exactly what the woman of to-day would urge. Yet in the rest of the play, though it is our sentimental sympathy with Luciana which has reflected on Adriana a deeper condemnation than has any of the formal charges laid against her, our sympathy with Luciana is not in the least founded on a concurrence in her explicit propositions about the relationship of man and wife. It is indeed Adriana who speaks with the voice of to-day in these matters. "Why should man's liberty than our's be more ?" she asks her sister, adding that none but asses will be bridled in such fashion by their husbands' will. But this is Luciana's creed :—

There's nothing situate under heaven's eye
But hath his bound, in earth, in sea, in sky :
The beasts, the fishes and the winged fowls
Are their males' subjects and at their controls :

Men, more divine, the masters of all these,
 Lords of the wide world and wild watery seas,
 Indued with intellectual sense and souls,
 Of more pre-eminence than fish and fowls,
 Are masters to their females, and their lords.
 Then let your will attend on their accords.

—(II. i. 15 ff.)

No mortal in this world of ours now would venture to swear by such a creed : nor could a subject of Queen Elizabeth have easily dared to do so. And yet though Luciana's terms are mere relics of the past, she secures from the moderns more instinctive sympathy than does her sister, despite the almost Georgian modernity of Adriana's views on conjugal equality. For Luciana brings into the play a range of sentiment utterly incompatible with the atmosphere of this *Comedy of Errors*. When Antipholus of Syracuse woos her as

mine own self's better part
 Mine eye's clear eye, my dear heart's dearest heart,
 My food, my fortune, and my sweet hope's arm,
 My sole earth's heaven, and my heaven's claim

—(III. ii. 61 ff.)

he is putting into words a way of looking on the relationship of man and woman different fundamentally from the point of view expressed in Roman comedy and in its English imitations. Between Plautus and Luciana are the centuries in which chivalry and its achievements in life and letters had evolved the love which, like God, makes earth and man anew. The world which is enshrined in mediæval romance was embedded in the inherited experience of the sixteenth century. Even when he was recoiling from romanticism, Shakespeare could not divest himself of the romantic. And so these alien elements are stuffed within his imitation of a classical play. Adriana is the shrew realistically sketched in the routine of housewifery, complaining, bullying servants, seeing to dinner, and querulously shouting her troubles to the street. Luciana is a singing mermaid, spreading o'er the silver waves the echoes of her song and wisps of golden hair as a bed whereon her love may lie. Not even Shakespeare can make sisters of two such beings. They are of different family, and indeed of different race, if not of different species.

But Luciana is not the only romantic intruder into the gross Roman world of the *Comedy of Errors*. Old Aegeon and the

abbess never lived in Rome. The father in the Plautine story died when he lost his sons, and not a word is heard of their mother. But Shakespeare's Aegeon brings into the story memories of tragic instances of harm reaching all but to the extremity of dire mishap. With echoes of mortal and intestine jars, he strikes a full note of pathos, the pity of age, and suffering, and frustrated hope. And these are plangent cries with which the heedless rollicking brutality of the comedy makes nothing but discord. Old men in Aegeon's sad situation are not unfamiliar to Roman comedy. But children were lost in Plautus, not to provide him with exhibitions of broken-hearted parents : they were lost simply that their finding might restore social status to such of the girls in a brothel as his young fellows might wish to marry. The old parent and his broken heart are useless to Plautus. As a rule, he will not even allow the bereaved parent a place in the play : and when he does, it is a parent who carries his bereavement lightly. There is *Daemones*, for instance, in *Rudens*, who has lost his daughter in infancy. The play tells of her miraculous restoration to him—or rather to the young man who has fallen in love with her whilst she was in the keeping of an old procurer. But as old *Daemones* has a wife, he has to be a Plautine husband, playing his part in the traditional comedy of the shrew, and presenting his wife as a prating torment :—

redeo domum.

iam mens opplebit aures sua vaniloquentia.

—(*Rudens*, 904 ff.)

Clearly, there can be no pathetic and romantic picture of the reunion of a lost daughter to a man like *Daemones* for whom there are no domestic sanctities at all. When the daughter is restored, we hear him commenting on his wife's revolting behaviour : she is even hugging and kissing the child so marvellously brought back to her as from the grave :

quid conspicio ?

uxor complexa collo retinet filiam.

nimis paene inepta atque odiosa eius amatiost.

—(*Rudens*, 1202 ff.)

As there is neither the love of romanticism in Plautus, so neither is there its pity, except for the little of it which oddly creeps in to that abnormal play, the *Captivi*. But as love, so pity comes incon-

gruously into the *Comedy of Errors*. Doubtless, much of the incongruity is hidden by Shakespeare's adroit use of Aegeon, who is not so much a figure in the play as a prologue and an epilogue to it. But at odd moments, the incongruity obtrudes itself. One is stupified to learn that Antipholus of Ephesus, the thick-skinned man-about-town, has rendered knightly service in the field to his feudal overlord, bestriding him in battle, and taking in this deed of chivalric devotion, as deep a scar as ever hero won in mediæval romance.

Justice, most gracious duke, O, grant me justice!
 Even for the service that long since I did thee,
 When I bestrid thee in the wars, and took
 Deep scars to save thy life: even for the blood
 That then I lost for thee, now grant me justice.

—(V. i. 190 ff.)

The *Comedy of Errors* is indeed a recoil, but a recoil which amply indicates that the recoiler will soon be turned again towards romance. It is in his blood and in the spirit of his times. The problem of reconciling romance and comedy was not to be avoided. It would have to be faced.

SOME NEW DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATING THE EARLY YEARS OF THE HUNDRED YEARS WAR (1353-1356).¹

BY DR. FRIEDRICH BOCK.

ONE who has read Victor Hugo's description of the seven forests of Brittany,² with their caves (in which the Breton insurgents took refuge during the French Revolution), and of the men living there like troglodytes and beasts, after the enemy had established his superiority, may easily apply the same description to an earlier century, when the country was overshadowed by "les larves de la légende et les monstres de l'histoire," among which Hugo counts "la maison française de Blois" and "la maison anglaise de Montfort." Tales from the fourteenth century like that of the "Battle of the Thirty"³ help our imagination to picture the cruelties of the civil contests in Brittany at the beginning of the Hundred Years War. The dispute between Charles de Blois and Jean de Montfort, supported respectively by the French and English Kings, was one of the reasons for Edward III's coming to France. So these civil contests are not only important for Brittany but are a conspicuous link in the chain of great political events of the fourteenth century.

¹ During the whole time that I was preparing and writing this paper I had the valuable assistance of Mr. Charles Johnson, to whom I owe most deeply-felt thanks. We often discussed problems, and he gave me so many suggestions that I consider this essay his work as well as mine. Dr. Moses Tyson of John Rylands Library was kind enough to look over my manuscript before it was given to the press. Mr. Crompton of the Public Record Office checked some documents for me. To both I have to express my deeply-felt thanks. In solving some questions in the French manuscripts Dr. Martin Weinbaum, Lecturer in the Berlin University, has lent me his friendly aid.

² *Quatre-vingt treize*, 3rd part, *En Vendée*.

³ See f. i. *The Political History of England*, III, 382, where we find a general outline of these struggles; cf. *Combat de trente Bretons contre trente Anglais en 1350*; *Les Chroniques de Jean Froissart* (J. A. Buchon, Collection des Chroniques Nationales Françaises), XIV, pp. 303-321.

Charles de Blois himself is an interesting and pathetic figure. He was married to Jeanne de Penthièvre, the heiress of Brittany, and was dragged into the political whirlpool. In 1347 he was defeated and captured by his English antagonists at La Roche-Derrien, and was taken to England, where he had to stay till 1356. In 1362 he began to fight again, and was slain "le viaire sus ses ennemies," as Froissart says, at Auray in 1364.¹ Some years later, in 1371, he was canonised²—abrace warrior and a saint. It is not surprising that Huizinga, in his great book on the waning of the Middle Ages, has drawn our attention to this figure.³ A few years ago M. Déprez gave us, with his accustomed skill, a picture of the political transactions during Charles' captivity,⁴ and during the last year M. B. A. Pocquet du Haut-Jussé has written on the same subject in his book on Papal policy in relation to Brittany.⁵ It is not my intention, therefore, to rewrite the history of Charles. I only wish to throw some further light on his life during the years 1353-1356 by means of new documents concerning two treaties; firstly, that between Edward III and Charles de Blois, dated Westminster, March 1, 1353 (1352) (till now known only on the evidence of Robert of Avesbury),⁶ and, secondly, the treaty between Edward III and the French King, dated Guines, April 6, 1354. The first helps us to see the political side of the "Iliade héroïque et chevaleresque" of Brittany quite clearly, the second (together with certain previously unknown secret instructions to Edward's ambassadors at the Papal court) reveals to us more clearly the English King as an able politician, and also his aims in France, and the means used to attain these aims, in which Brittany plays only a minor part

¹ Froissart, ed. Luce, VI, 168; ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove, VII, 51; Huizinga, *Herfstij der Middeleeuwen*, Haarlem, 1921, p. 315.

² *Monuments du procès de canonisation du bienheureux Charles de Blois*, St. Brieuc, 1921.

³ Huizinga, *Herfstij der Middeleeuwen*, p. 314 sq. Probably a lively biography could be compiled out of the material in the *Monuments*, giving many features of the everyday life of the fourteenth century. A portrait of Charles is reproduced in the *Monuments*.

⁴ *La querelle de Bretagne*, Mémoires de la société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Bretagne, tome VII, 1926, pp. 25-60.

⁵ *Les papes et les ducs de Bretagne* (Bibl. des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 133, Paris, 1928), I, 266 sqq.

⁶ Rob. Avesbury, *De gestis mirabilibus regis Edwardi Tertii* (ed. E. M. Thompson, Rolls Series), p. 418; Pocquet, p. 317.

After the captivity of her husband, Jeanne de Penthièvre intended as early as 1347 to form an alliance between Brittany and England, and to marry her eldest son to one of King Edward's daughters.¹ Communications upon this matter were made to Edward by the Pope, but the King turned a deaf ear.² His aim was to secure a general peace with France under favourable conditions, similar to those of the Treaty of 1359-1360. Proctors from England and France carried on negotiations in Calais, but only short armistices, several times renewed till August, 1351,³ were settled. Nothing was said about Charles de Blois in these armistices, but he probably knew that he would have to pay a large ransom for his deliverance. At the beginning of the peace negotiations in the summer of 1351 Charles was taken to Calais and was allowed to see his wife, and I am inclined to think Edward's motive of this undertaking was not so much chivalrous⁴ as practical. He then wanted to win over Brittany and thus exercise a stronger pressure on France. It is possible that the visit to Calais was made for the preliminary discussion of the terms of Charles' ransom and that from these discussions emerged the scheme of the treaty, which was formally arranged by English and Breton proctors at Westminster on March 1, 1353. We know of this treaty through Robert of Avesbury, but the contents were unknown, and Avesbury does not give the exact date.⁵ Déprez gives some facts relating to it from the political correspondence with the Papal court and cites the amount of the ransom, which he puts too high, from the deposition of Charles' surgeon, George de Lesnen, during the canonisation.⁶ Déprez thinks the treaty is irrevocably lost, even wilfully destroyed.⁷ It may be so, but fortunately we have a copy in a manuscript written during the second half of the fourteenth century, possibly by an official of the royal administration, which I was fortunate enough to find during my stay in London in 1929, and which is now preserved in Manchester

¹ Déprez, *Querelle*, 26.

² *Ib.* 27.

³ See the details in Déprez, *Querelle*, 28-30.

⁴ Déprez, *Querelle*, 35; "Edward III eut même une pensée généreuse dont il n'était pas coutumier."

⁵ Avesbury, ed. Thompson, p. 418; cf. Pocquet, p. 317; Déprez, 39 *sqq.*

⁶ Déprez, 41: *Monuments du procès de canonisation*, p. 28.

⁷ Déprez, 42.

as John Rylands Library, Latin MS. 404.¹ Let us try to indicate briefly the contents of the various clauses of this hitherto unknown treaty between Edward III and Charles de Blois.²

Gautier, Bishop of Vannes,³ Jean, Lord of Beaumanoir, Evain Charruel, and Robert de Saint-Père, Knights, Raffroi, Archdeacon of Rennes, and Oliver de Moizell, plenipotentiaries of Jeanne, Duchess of Brittany, and of the prelates, barons, and the whole country of Brittany, are delegated to treat for the deliverance of Charles de Blois and for an alliance with the English King. The King has consented to the discussion of this matter with the Breton plenipotentiaries in his Council, and they have come to terms on the following points:—

(1) A perpetual peace and alliance is established between King Edward and Brittany, and war is to cease in that country, and also in the viscounty of Limoges.

(2) The King of England, at the request of the Duke and Duchess, will assist them with arms in any defensive or offensive war. In the event of such a request the Duke will in turn assist the King against the French or others without any exception, whenever required. If the King requires help before such a request is made by the Duke, the Duke will come to his help in person with his troops at his own expense, saving his allegiance and engagements to any third parties.

(3) So long as Brittany is not at war with France, neither the English nor French are to enter either that country or the Limousin.

(4) English ships are allowed to enter the harbours of Brittany and to buy victuals and other necessary goods in that country, but

¹For Latin MS. 404 in the John Rylands Library, Manchester, see *E.H.R.* Vol. XLV (1930), 353-372. There are certain registers, written in the chancery of William of Hainault (*cf.* Th. van Riemsdijk, *de Tresorie en Kanselarij van de Graven van Holland*, 1908), preserved in the "Allgemeen Rijksarchief" at the Hague, of which I saw E.L. 40 and E.L. 23. Both manuscripts are in size and in other details similar to Latin MS. 404, as also is the surviving part of the register of the Emperor Louis IV (1314-1347), now preserved in the Hauptstaatsarchiv at Munich.

²*Cf.* Appendix, p. 84.

³Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica*, 1913, p. 520; Gautier de Saint-Pern, counsellor of Charles, *cf.* Pocquet, 337. The same commission gets a *sauf-conduit* on Dec. 30, 1352, *cf.* Rymer, III, pt. i, 250, 4, where the list of names is not given correctly; Déprez, *Querelle*, 37, Charruel is one of the "Thirty;" Pocquet, 340.

without purveyance rights of the English King ("pour lour deniers paiantz").

(5) The English merchants have the right to trade in Brittany, and the Bretons to do likewise in England. In case of complaints the local justices are competent to act. The merchants may carry arms for their self defence.

(6) John, eldest son of Charles de Blois, and Margaret, daughter of King Edward, are to be married.

(a) If the said John dies after his accession as Duke of Brittany, his wife is to get the third part of all his possessions in Brittany, as well as elsewhere. If he dies before succeeding to the title, his wife will get an annuity of £2,000 sterling (10,000 livres de bons petitiz tournois, accountant 5 tournois a un esterling currant en Engleterre)¹ in land rents and revenues.

(b) The Duke Charles is to procure a dispensation for this marriage at the Papal court.²

(c) If Princess Margaret dies before the marriage has taken place, she is to be replaced by her younger sister, and similarly the younger brother Guy has to fill the place of John if he survives his brother. In this case also the dispensation must be purchased by the Duke of Brittany.³

(7) For his deliverance from prison and for the restitution of the Breton towns and fortifications Charles has to pay 300,000 "escutz dor" (£50,000 sterling), "chescun escu valant quarante bons esterlings dargent courrantz en Engleterre" to King Edward or his heirs.⁴

¹ See Friedrich von Schroetter, *Wörterbuch der Münzkunde*, 1930, under "sterling," where the weights of sterling under Edward III are given, and also under "écu," and C. G. Crump and C. Johnson, *Tables of Bullion* (Numismatic Chronicle, 4th series, Vol. XIII, 1913, p. 200 *sqq.*).

² The dispensation of marriage by the Pope was procured on May 6, 1353, see Pocquet, p. 317. Jean, the eldest son of Charles and Jeanne de Penthievre, was born at Jugon, February 5, 1345; Pocquet, I, 286.

³ According to this treaty Papal dispensations for the marriages were procured on May 13, 1354; Pocquet's details (p. 321) must be corrected: the arrangement of this marriage was made earlier than he thinks, namely in the treaty of March 1.

⁴ Pocquet, p. 314: "en considération de cette alliance (between Margaret, daughter of Charles of Blois, and Charles of Spain, Constable of France) Jean II . . . s'engageait à payer la rançon de Charles de Blois. Cet accord et ce mariage étaient probablement choses faites en Mars 1352." I cannot

(a) If there is peace between Brittany and France¹ the sum is payable in instalments over 6 years, due Michaelmas and Easter each year. The first sum falls due at Michaelmas 1353, the second at Easter 1354, making an annual sum of 50,000 écus.

(b) If there is open war in consequence of this alliance, the payment shall be extended over 8 years at the rate of 40,000 écus a year. In addition the Duke releases John de Beauchamp, quit of all claims for ransom.

(8) The English King will deliver the whole country of Brittany and Limoges, which he possesses in his own name and in the name of John de Montfort, to Charles de Blois, except the lands to be reserved for the above-named infant; and if anybody is not willing to obey, the King will assist the Duke to eject him at his own expense.

(9) John de Montfort on, or before, coming of age is to receive in rents each year £1,400 sterling, "7,000 livres de bons petitz tournois, cynk tournois valent un esterling dengleterre"; 1,000 pounds of this sum are to be contributed by the revenues of Guérande, the heritage left him by his father.² If the county of Montfort³ is given back to John, its revenues are to be counted towards the 6,000 pounds. As long as John is in his minority, a keeper (*gardein*) appointed by the King is to govern Guérande and to receive 2,000 pounds a year from the Duke of Brittany, whilst the remainder of the 6,000 pounds is to be found by the King. When these points are settled, the child of Montfort will renounce his rights to Brittany.

(10) The titles of property in Brittany are to be restored as they were before the war. If Englishmen are married to Breton heiresses, they must not be disturbed in their rights, and an amnesty is to be granted to all adherents of Montfort. The securities for the Treaties are procured under the ancient Breton forms.

(11) The Breton proctors have sworn to procure letters of assent

make out the reason for this date given by M. Pocquet. It is possible that this scheme was ventilated between the French King and Charles de Blois. In Charles' treaty with the English King there is no mention of it, and the instalments are also to be paid in case of open war between France and Brittany.

¹ See §§ 2 and 3 of the treaty.

² It lies at the mouth of the Loire.

³ Montfort-l'Amaury, dep. Seine et Oise, see L. Mirot, *Manuel de géographie historique de la France*, p. 134.

from the "estates" of Brittany¹ and also the consent of the Papal court, besides the letters of the Duke and the Duchess.

(12) John, Guy, and Mary, children of Charles de Blois, are to be sent as hostages to England, whilst the King's daughter Margaret is to live with the Duchess of Brittany.

(13) King Edward sends proctors to Brittany and the Limousin to see that everything is completed, the oaths sworn, and the consenting letters sealed with close observance of the formalities. After this they have authority to deliver the towns and castles to Charles de Blois. The King is allowed to keep John, the Duke's son, with him for eight or ten years, "ou tant come il lui plerra."

(14) King Edward and his eldest son, the Prince of Wales, promise to observe this treaty, and a large number of English witnesses have sworn to see to the keeping of the treaty.²

This document shows clearly that Edward III abandoned the rights of Jean de Montfort in spite of his tutorship, and that he was willing to recognise Charles de Blois as Duke of Brittany, and to cause Jean to renounce his rights to the dukedom. The King was about to enter into an alliance with Charles de Blois and to make use of his assistance against the French King in the same way as he had used the help of his German allies some ten years earlier. Edward adopted this new policy after many negotiations for the general peace, which, however, never led to more than an armistice several times renewed. Thus Edward detached the Breton question, and "la querelle de Bretagne" was regulated by a treaty and alliance, to which the nobles,³ the clergy, and the communes of Brittany gave their consent. But the text of this treaty was not yet ratified, and before that stage was reached more negotiations between the proctors were necessary.

Many negotiations had preceded this treaty since 1351. On March 26, 1352, Charles de Blois was allowed to go to his own country, although not alone. The King sent two trusty persons with

¹ About the "Trois Etats" of the duchy see Pocquet, I, 315. Perhaps Edward's wish to get as much security as possible was the reason for uniting "les Etats de Dinan." Pocquet, however, thinks of the English Parliament as their model.

² The list of names (Appendix, p. 90) is important for the administrative history of these years, many of them are given in Tout, *Chapters*, III; e.g. Winwick, III, 225 *sq.*; about the "primacy of England," see *ib.*, p. 206.

³ Déprez, *Querelle*, 42.

him, Michael de Northburgh, keeper of the King's privy seal, and Robert de Herle, captain of Calais. The instructions to the proctors mention only the ransom and financial points relating to its fulfilment,¹ so we can understand why Déprez considers only these financial transactions and postulates a treaty only about the ransom. It seems as if Charles returned to England as early as May 1352;² but the negotiations had not ceased, for the same proctors mentioned in the treaty of March 1, 1353, received safe-conduct to England on December 30, 1352.³ Then a commission differing only in two names, had safe-conduct on March 10, 1353.⁴ We know that the two sons of Charles de Blois were in England in "custodia nostra" on June 18, 1353.⁵ We have already mentioned that Papal dispensations were procured for John de Blois on May 6, 1353, and for Guy on May 13, 1354.⁶ In the same year safe-conduct was given to the Count of Rohan to visit Charles de Blois.⁷ There can be no doubt that this treaty was really ratified by both parties⁸ and its conditions put in force, and it is possible that the ratification was accomplished not later than 1353, and that the payment of five marks to the clerk,

¹ Rymer, III, pt. i, 241, 3; Déprez, 37; Pocquet, I, 314.

² Cf. the notice from the Exch. Accounts, bundle 313, n. 10, mentioned by Déprez, 37, n. 48: Jean Avenel is sent to France "ad querendum Carolum de Blois;" cf. Mirot-Déprez, *Les Ambassades Anglaises*, Bibl. de l'École des Chartes, 1898, p. 573, No. CXLIV.

³ Rymer, III, pt. i, 250, 4; C.P.R. 1350/54, p. 469; Déprez, 37; their testimonial letter is dated November 29, 1352, cf. Pocquet, I, 316, after the text in H. Morice, *Memoires pour servir de preuves à l'histoire . . . de Bretagne*, I (Paris, 1742), col. 1486; see also C.P.R. 1350/54, pp. 375, 492: safe-conduct on December 10, 1352, and September 20, 1353, for the King's clerk, John Coupegorge, in coming to England and then returning to Brittany.

⁴ Rymer, III, 254, 1; Déprez, 37.

⁵ Rymer, III, 259, 2; Déprez, 40.

⁶ See p. 64 Déprez, 41 and Pocquet, 317 *sqq.*, where are given more details of the negotiations with Avignon.

⁷ *Répertoire Sommaire des documents manuscrit de l'histoire de Bretagne*, t. I, 1914, par H. du Halgouet, p. 81; the ambassador was perhaps Jean, Vicomte de Rohan; Déprez, 43; Pocquet, 338: "Famille toute dévouée à Charles de Blois."

⁸ In the treaty of August 9, 1356, we read about the treaty of March 1, 1353: "articles estoient tretez accordez et affermez . . . sur nostre deliverance de prison . . . et sur amours et perpetuelles alliances . . . si come es lettres patentes seales dune part et dautre . . . est contenuz."

William Stok, is connected with this matter.¹ But why did King Edward not adhere to it? For it is quite clear from another treaty between Edward III and Charles de Blois, the treaty of London, dated August 9, 1356, that he, and not Charles de Blois, gave it up. As to this new treaty of 1356 we may pass over it quickly, since we have an exact analysis by Déprez,² and only draw attention to the main points. In this second treaty nothing is said about an alliance, or about a marriage between the children, or about the restitution of Brittany by Edward to Charles: only the possibility that Charles may be slain by the party of his opponent, John de Montfort, is mentioned. We recall the gloomy picture of the eighteenth century suggested above, for in the fourteenth century we have the same merciless civil war, some features of which are depicted by Déprez.³

In the treaty of 1356 the main point is the ransom of Charles. This is the very heavy sum of 700,000 "florins del escutz d'or,"⁴ but the sum is to be reduced by half if the instalments are paid punctually, so that the difference from the sum of 1352 is not very large, and the greater figure seems to be a security for punctual payments.⁵ The last instalment must be paid on September 29, 1361. John and Guy, the two sons of Charles, are left as hostages, but after the first payment John is to be allowed to leave England. If the treaty is broken,

¹ Déprez, *Querelle*, 16; Pocquet, I, 317, n. 1.

² Déprez, 50 *sqq.* The original of the treaty is preserved in Publ. Rec. Office, Dipl. Doc. Exchequer, no. 74. It is not well preserved, the writing is worn and partly unreadable. We have, however, a copy in Rylands Lat. MS. 404; cf. *E.H.R.*, XLV, p. 368, No. 113. The wording is quite the same, allowing for the change of persons as the document of Edward III, dated August 10; see Rymer, III, 337. After line 9 from the bottom: . . . "ville persone et enfame a toutz iours" is an addition: Charles, for the sake of greater security, submits himself and his country to the jurisdiction of the Papal court, chamber, and auditor, if he should try to break the treaty.

³ Déprez, *Querelle*, 56, *sqq.*, see also C.P.R. 1354/58, pp. 178 and 219: Edward's grant to the Abbot of Bonrepos, in Brittany, begging his bread in England.

⁴ As to the value, cf. Déprez, 51.

⁵ "Volons . . . que, si le dit monsieur Charles face prestement paier es lieu et termes desusditz la moite de la soumme, quelle il est tenuz et chargez par ses dites lettres de paier en chescun des termes avantditz, que l'autre moite de chescun terme lors lui soit de tout pardonez," Rymer, III, 336. Charles's document has "Et ensement come il nous eit grantez . . . que si nous faisons prestement . . . pardonnez."

Charles has to return to England. We have already mentioned that the treaty of March 1, 1353, sealed by Edward III, and in the possession of Charles, must be delivered in London.¹ In the same month Charles left London for ever with his young daughter.²

Mediæval writers have sought for an explanation of the abandonment of the treaty of 1353 and for altering the conditions so considerably as was done in the treaty of 1356. I think M. Pocquet is quite right in regarding the reasons given by Robert of Avesbury as only incidental ones, and that he is also right in stating that Henry of Lancaster was not opposed to Charles de Blois, and that it was not Henry who caused the rupture of the more favourable treaty.³ M. Pocquet⁴ takes the question psychologically and asks: who was the loser by the treaty of 1353? He answers quite correctly: the French King only. He believes, therefore, that the French King used his influence with the Pope to delay the bulls of dispensation. That may be so, but they were procured before the treaty of 1353 was annulled. M. Pocquet mentions the connection of another incident with the rupture of the treaty of marriage, namely the assassination of Charles d'Espagne, Constable of France. Charles d'Espagne was about to marry Margaret, daughter of Charles de Blois; therefore the French King, so he says, had promised to pay the ransom for Charles de Blois. After the assassination of Charles d'Espagne, the French King had no interest in keeping his promise, and therefore Edward annulled the treaty with Charles de Blois, because he thought the ransom was now lost.⁵

It is not quite clear, however, why Edward in 1354 should break a treaty for fear of losing the ransom which was even increased in

¹ Cf. details in Déprez, 52. For the consequences of the broken treaty left in Charles' hands, see Pocquet, I, 320 sq. Charles restored his copy on July 13, 1357 (Rymer, III, 360, 2).

² Déprez, 53.

³ Avesbury (ed. E. M. Thompson, London, 1889, p. 419 sq.) makes a statement that Charles' followers slaughtered an English garrison in Brittany and thus incensed the English King, which is often repeated (cf. R. Pauli, *Geschichte von England*, IV, 423). This enterprise can only have been an accidental cause of the treaty being annulled.

⁴ Pocquet, I, 318 sqq.

⁵ Pocquet states (after Lesnen): "Car précisément dans les mois qui suivirent cette date (the assassination took place on January 8, 1354) le roi Edouard, désespérant de voir rentrer dans ces caisses la rançon de Charles de Blois, rompit un autre projet de mariage échafaudé entre lui et son prisonnier," see *op. cit.*, p. 314 sq.

amount and at least partially paid by Brittany two years later. We remember that no mention is made of a payment by the French King in the treaty of 1353.¹ Edward must have had other reasons. But before we try to understand this remarkable alteration in the King's behaviour towards Charles de Blois, let us glance over the English negotiations with France during these years, for which new documents are furnished by Rylands Latin MS. 404.

After the famous conquest of Calais² an armistice was initiated on September 28, 1347,³ and prolonged from time to time.⁴ Pope Clement VI tried in vain to make a lasting peace between the two adversaries. His successor, Innocent VI, was more fortunate in this respect, and a treaty was formulated by English and French plenipotentiaries, of which till now only the date was known⁵ and some items surmised from the evidence of the Papal registers.⁶ Fortunately, a copy of the treaty is preserved in Rylands Latin MS. 404.⁷

Now let us consider the contents of this treaty of Guines, of April 6, 1354.

By the mediation of (Guy), Cardinal of Boulogne,⁸ the following treaty is concluded by the English and French plenipotentiaries. The names of the English are : William (Bateman), Bishop of Norwich,⁹

¹ Cf. p. 64 sq.

² G. Wrottesley, *Crecy and Calais*, London, 1898 ; cf. also the profound study of Jules Viard in *Le Moyen Age*, 2nd série, t. 30 (1929), 129-189.

³ Rymer, III, 136, 4.

⁴ Déprez, *Querelles*, 28 sqq.

⁵ G. Mollat, *Innocent VI et les tentatives de paix*, Revue d'hist. eccl., Louvain, 1909, p. 729-743 ; the date is not given exactly by E. Cosneau in *Les grandes traités de la Guerre de Cent Ans* (Paris, 1889), p. 1, where the treaty is mentioned.

⁶ Mollat in his sagacious essay on *Innocent VI et les tentatives de paix*, cf. the preceding note.

⁷ Fo. 55^a-56^a, see Appendix, p. 91. The procuration for the English proctors is printed in Rymer, III, 275, 3, dated March 30, 1354, cf. Mollat, *Innocent VI*, 738. Bartholomew of Burghersh brought the question before Parliament, cf. Rot. Parl. II, 262 ; Tout, *Chapters in the administrative history of Mediæval England*, III, 173.

⁸ Cf. Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevi*, ed. altera, pp. 18, 316. The initiative was with the French King, cf. Mollat, *Innocent VI*, p. 730. The negotiations began in the spring of 1353 (*ib.*, 731). Touching the partiality of the Cardinal—he was a near relative of the French King—see *ib.*, 736 ; Delachenal, *Histoire de Charles V*, I (1909), 38.

⁹ Eubel, 371 ; he was English Ambassador at Avignon in 1345, see Pocquet, I, 295.

William (Clynton), Earl of Huntingdon,¹ Michael de Northburgh, keeper of the privy seal, legum doctor, canon of the churches of London and York,² Renaud de Cobham, captain of Calais.³

The names of the French are : Peter (de Foresta), Archbishop of Rouen,⁴ William (Bertrand), Bishop of Beauvais,⁵ Robert (le Cocq), Bishop of Laon,⁶ Robert, Count of Rossy,⁷ Pierre (?) de Châtillon,⁸ Robert de Lorriz (Sire d'Ermenonville), Chamberlain of the King.⁹

1. The French King is to cede as an allodium all the possessions which are named in a note ("cedula") sent to the Pope, namely, (a) The duchy of Aquitaine or¹⁰ Guyenne, (b) The counties of Poitou, Touraine, Anjou, Maine, Ponthieu, and Limoges—if found

¹ Rymer, III, 260, 5; Doyle, *Official baronage*, II, 225; Tout, *Chapters*, III, 106.

² Rymer, III, 268, 4, and 260, 5.

³ For the reasons of the absence of the Duke of Lancaster see Delachenal, *Premières Négotiations de Charles le Mauvais*, Bibl. de l'école des Chartes, 1900, 264.

⁴ Eubel, *Hierarchia*, 2, 426.

⁵ *Ib.*, 132.

⁶ *Ib.*, 296. Our manuscript has in error "William" of Laon, probably repeating the name of the preceding Bishop. The correct name, Robert, is to be found in the treaty of armistice, dated March 10, 1353, see Rymer, III, 254, 2. His name occurs in a treaty of April 6, 1354, *i.e.* the same date as our treaty, *cf.* Rymer, III, 276, 4. For Robert's interesting life see Delachenal, *Charles V*, I, 115, 134.

⁷ In the manuscript: "A. Conte de Rossy"; Rymer, III, 276, 4, has "Robert Conte de Roncy = Roucy" (Aisne, cant. Neufchâtel-sur-Aisne).

⁸ In Latin MS. 404, Piers de Chastilloun. In Rymer, III, 276, 4, we read Gauchier de Chasteillon, seigneur de la Ferte (*i.e.* La Ferté-Somme). The same occurs in 1360, *ib.*, 536; ob. 1377: see Anselme, *Histoire genealogique et chronologique de la Maison Royale de France*, etc., VIII (1730), p. 875. I have to thank Mr. Charles Johnson for this identification.

⁹ Rymer, III, 276, 4. Mollat, *Innocent VI*, 730: This "favorit" was in Avignon in January, 1353. See Lorriz' part in the negotiations of Valognes in Delachenal, *Charles V*, I, 109.

¹⁰ The ancient form of the name Aquitaine is explained by the name Guyenne; "seu" means here "or," though we have it meaning "et" in the same document; *cf.* p. 73, 8. Edward III has the title of *dux Aquitaniae*, or *duc d'Aquitaine*. As to Guyenne, *cf.* the map following p. 132 in L. Mirot, *Manuel de Géographie Historique de la France*, 1930—the other above-mentioned names are in the index. The Latin style of the document indicates that the scribe was acquainted with the phraseology of the papal court. It possibly received the final wording by the scribe of Guy de Boulogne.

out that it does not belong to the duchy.¹ (c) Calais, Marck, Oye, Cologne, Sangatte, Guines.

2. The boundaries of Aquitaine-Guyenne are those acquired by Charles de Valois.² To define these boundaries, each King has to name two trusty persons before the following October. If this committee does not come to an agreement, the case is to be brought before an arbitrator. The arbitration must take place before Innocent VI (in his private capacity of Stephen Alberti) as an arbitrator, before, or during, the following December.

3. Two younger sons of the English King are to marry two daughters of the French King, on coming of age. Each is to receive a dowry of 100,000 ancient "écus d'or."

4. All alienations made or charges created by the King of France in Aquitaine-Guyenne must be revoked and the full rights restored to the English King.

5. Alliance and friendship is to be established between the two Kings, and every engagement acting against this alliance is to be cancelled.³

6. Spoliations made during the war on both sides are to be made

¹ "In casu quo non fuerit de Ducatu." As to Ponthieu, Edward III will compensate his mother for it. Ponthieu and Montreuil were granted to Edward's mother for life on September 24, 1334, *cf.* Dipl. Docs. Exch. 62. (*Lists and Indexes*, 49, p. 12; Rymer, II, pt. ii, 893, 2.)

² Charles de Valois overran and conquered Guyenne on behalf of his uncle, Charles IV, in 1324 (Capitulation of la Réole), see Miro, *Manuel*, p. 124 *sq.* On March 31, 1324, a truce was concluded (J. Dumont, *Corps Universel Dipl. du Droit des Gens*, Amsterdam, 1726, Vol. II, p. 66, No. CVII). The final Treaty of Peace was made on May 31, 1325, at Paris; Rymer, II, 137, *cf.* E. Déprez, *Les Préliminaires de la guerre de cent ans* (1902, Bibl. des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome Fasc. 86), p. 19. Dumont prints the text of the truce (No. CVII.) from MS. of the State Library in Berlin. The latter is MS. Gall. fol. 86: *Traictez, Memoires, Actes et autres pieces, concernant les Royaumes de France et d'Angleterre depuis 1193 jusques a 1333* (*cf.* *Mitteilungen aus der Königl. Bibliothek*, Vol. IV. Berlin, 1918: *Kurzes Verzeichnis der romanischen Handschriften*, p. 6). It is a folio MS. on paper, in handwriting of the seventeenth century, bound in red leather. The printed text of Dumont is correct. MS. Gall. fol. 87 is the same for the years 1340-1498, fol. 88 is the same for 1514-1564, fol. 89 is the same for 1572-1628, fol. 90 is the same for 1495-1630.

³ Compare Edward's Treaty with Charles de Blois, March 1, 1353.

good, but the English conquests in France are to remain in the hands of the English as above provided.

7. The terms of the Treaty are to be proclaimed by the Pope, and both parties are to send sufficient proctors before October 1 to treat in his presence.

8. The English plenipotentiaries sent to the Pope on this occasion must have the power of renouncing all rights to the French Crown ; and the French plenipotentiaries that of granting the above-named possessions as an *allod*, without any legal restrictions (*homagium seu (= et) resortum*).

9. Both parties promise under oath, that proctors will be sent to the Papal court before the first of October next and the Cardinal of Boulogne promises that everything will be carried out, that the treaty will be kept secret, and that the ambassadors will pursue no secret aims, either at the Papal court or elsewhere.

10. A truce recently initiated is to last till April 1, 1355. (This truce was prolonged to October, 1, 1355.)¹

Although the truce was completed at once and entered on the English Chancery Rolls, the peace treaty had to be discussed again before the Pope. The English plenipotentiaries received their procuration for this purpose, especially the power of renouncing the claim to the French Crown, on the 28th of August.² On the same day the English clergy and nobles promised to observe the treaty which the proctors were about to conclude,³ but it seems that this procuration letter was not used, though the reason for the delay is not known to us.⁴

Anyhow, on October 30, another procuration was given to seven proctors, among whom we find only three of the ambassadors named on August 28.⁵ This procuration is shorter than the first and has only the usual formula without any particular instructions. The

¹ See the special treaty of armistice in Rymer, III, 276, 4.

² Rymer, III, 283, 2 and III, 284, 1. The Pope has to act only as a private person, as an arbitrator, see Mollat, *Innocent VI et les Tentatives de Paix*, Revue d'Hist. eccles. X (1909), p. 739; *ib.*, concerning the announcement of the English proctors in Avignon.

³ Rymer, III, 284, 2 and 3.

⁴ One would like to know how the delay was brought into accordance with § 9 of the Treaty of April 6, which contains the promise of both parties to send proctors before the first of October, 1354. ⁵ Rymer, III, 289, 4.

sentence about the Pope acting as a private person is omitted. We only learn from the procuration, that the King, in accordance with the dictum of the Treaty of Guines, sends proctors to treat for final peace with French ambassadors, and especially touching the right to the French Crown, and to discuss the boundaries of the possessions to be ceded by the French King. Apart from the date, it is strictly in accordance with the dicta of the treaty of April 6.¹ The remarkable thing is, as we have long known,² that the Duke of Lancaster,³ though his name does not occur in the second procuration (of October 30), was at Avignon during the end of 1354. A document in Latin MS. 404⁴ solves this problem. On the same day, October 30, a secret instruction was given by King and Council to two confidants of the King, namely to the Duke of Lancaster and the Earl of Arundel,⁵ whose names occurred in the procuration of August 28. The two latter, however, do not act as officials, and certainly they had no Latin procuration like that given to the seven proctors on the same day.⁶ If forced by necessity they had to show a short "credence secree,"⁷ a document saying very little, the word "secree" only meaning that it was not so very secret. It was drawn up so as not to reveal too much if it had to be shown, and soon some "confidants" may have seen it, "secretly" of course. We learn from it the humble language Lancaster had to use when he first met the Pope on Christmas day at the State Banquet.⁸ The contents of the "credence secree" are as follows :

¹ See §§ 2, 7, and 8 of the Treaty of April 6, p. 92 sq.

² See Mollat, *Innocent VI. et les Tentatives de Paix*, Revue d'Hist. eccles. X (1909).

³ Henry, Duke of Lancaster, had been chief ambassador to Pope Clement VI in September, 1343, cf. Pocquet, I, 293; Tout, *Chapters*, III, 191 sqq.; J. E. Doyle, *Baronage*, II, 312 sq.

⁴ Lat. MS. 404, fol. 56.

⁵ Richard Fitz Alan, Earl of Arundel, brother-in-law of Henry of Lancaster, cf. J. E. Doyle, *Baronage*, I, 71; Tout, *Chapters*, III, 188, 190; Pocquet, I, 310.

⁶ "La lettre de credence ne la credence sur cestes matieres ne soient monstrees au saint pere" (Appendix p. 94 [5]). They have not to "show their credentials nor make it public that they are sent as officials."

⁷ Lat. MS. 404, fol. 56v, Appendix, p. 94.

⁸ Mollat, *Innocent VI et les Tentatives de Paix*, p. 740; K. H. Schäfer *Die Ausgaben der apostolischen Kammer*, Vat. Quellen III, 1914, p. 558. Researches for more details kindly undertaken by Dr. C. Erdmann of the Preussisches Historisches Institut in Rome were without result.

1. The ambassadors are to tell the Pope that the King recognises God's goodness to him and desires to exert his strength against God's enemies.

2. Of his free will, without coercion, he will give up some of his hereditary rights in order to secure peace with France.

3. If peace can be made on the terms offered, he is well content ; if not, matters shall stand as though no offer had been made.

4. On account of his deep affection for the Pope he has chosen him as arbitrator in the unsettled question of the boundaries.

5. The "lettre de credence" and the "credences sur cestes matieres" are to be shown only of necessity.

There is another document preserved in the same manuscript¹ namely, a "charge" given to Lancaster and Arundel, which is *really* a *secret* instruction informing the two ambassadors how far they might go in abandoning English territorial claims. This document would have been dangerous if it had become known, as the contents show :

1. The ambassadors have to commend the King and Queen and their children to the Pope.

2. They have to confirm the Treaty of Guines, but the wording here is noteworthy : the duchy of Guyenne and the other possessions named in the oft-mentioned *cedula* sent to the Pope through the King's confessor are to be given to the English King as compensation for the French Crown, no mention is made of this in the treaty itself.

3. The contents of this *cedula*, namely the possessions claimed by the English, are given in the following order :

(a) The duchies of Aquitaine-Guyenne, and Normandy,

(b) The counties of Ponthieu, Angers and Anjou, Poitiers and Poitou, Le Mans and Maine, Tours and Touraine, Angoulême and Angoumois, Cahors, and Quercy, Limoges and Limousin, and all the countries conquered since the beginning of the war.

4. To get a "*bonne pees*" they may give up Normandy, Cahors, Quercy, and Angoulême, unless the last three are found to be part of the ancient duchy of Guyenne, in which case they are not to be given up. Cahors, Quercy and Angoulême are to be claimed as demesne, unless it appears that the King's ancestors only had feudal superiority.

5. If the plenipotentiaries have to renounce Angoulême and Angoumois, they must try to obtain other inland territories as

¹ Latin MS. 404, fol. 56, Appendix p. 94.

compensation ("bonne pees"). But they are not to push matters so far as to cause the break up of the whole conference.

6. Concerning the boundaries of the possessions to be ceded by the French, the proctors have first to try to come to an agreement with the French ambassadors before they make use of their power of appointing the Pope as an arbitrator. If that does happen they must try to complete the whole business before the first of April next.

7. They have to procure every kind of security from the French, since the English King is ready to give any form of security demanded.

8. They may prolong the armistice till Whitsuntide next.

Why did the King send these *two* embassies? We hear no more of the official proctors. They may have played their parts in committees as usual. But Lancaster and Arundel, certainly the main persons in this diplomatic scheme, had every liberty to come and go as they liked, to interview important persons on their own account, to show their "secret instruction," and to retire into privacy if they found it necessary. So they had the opportunity to smooth the way everywhere, even if necessary by bribery, acting of course as "private persons." There is an extra sum of 2000 marks in Lancaster's original account delivered to the Exchequer after his return,¹ in addition to his very high daily expenses. It may be that this sum was used for some such secret method of procuring friends in Avignon. On the whole we have an opportunity to

¹ Publ. Rec. Office, E 101, bundle 313, No. 25, Appendix, p. 96. Mirot and Déprez, *Ambassades Anglaises*, Bibl. de l'école des chartes, LIX, 1898, p. 575, No. CLXXII, have the wrong date 1355-56. The heading of the membrane has "anno regni E . . . XXIX"; on Nov. 3, 29 Ed. III, Lancaster is at Dover, but as on the dorse we find the note "intranturn primo die Julii a^o XXIX," it is evident that the Exchequer year is meant, and the 29th Exchequer year lasts from Michaelmas 1354 to Michaelmas 1355. The figures of the account may be given here:

Lancaster has to receive—			He received—			Another bill to be paid by the Exchequer—		
£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
750	0	0	1333	6	8	1666	13	4
316	13	4	30	0	0	paid: 666	13	4
128	0	0	1333	6	8			
1333	6	8	2696	13	4	1000	0	0
			— 2528	0	0	— 168	13	4
2528	0	0	168	13	4	831	6	8 residue,

which is paid in May, 1355.

penetrate the secrecy of fourteenth century diplomacy in a way which is seldom possible, because these secret instructions were not entered on the Chancery Rolls. It reveals to us the diplomatic skill of Edward III, and reminds us of quite modern diplomatic transactions.

In spite of all these endeavours and abundant means the Duke did not succeed, because the French ambassadors broke the treaty of April 6 and did not renounce the suzerainty of Guyenne,¹ as it seems with the connivance of the Pope or at least that of Guy de Boulogne. There seems to be a similar alliance between Pope and French King, as that through which the Emperor Louis IV of Germany had failed in his endeavour to come to terms with the Papal court a score of years earlier. Edward, however, had to go to war once more till he secured the conquered possessions in France by means of a treaty and put an end to the divided allegiance of his subjects in Southern France. There was soon fighting again in two theatres of war; in the northern region the Duke of Lancaster held command, in the southern region the Prince of Wales was in charge. A decisive victory was gained at Poitiers on September 19, 1356. Before this battle, on August 1, the Prince of Wales secured a procuration to reopen peace negotiations with France² in quite formal terms. This procuration was renewed on December 15.³ Two days later a secret instruction was given to the Black Prince by a special ambassador, Nigel or Niel Loreng. This secret instruction (*charge*) also is preserved in Rylands Latin MS. 404,⁴ and states:

1. The King gives his consent that at the request of the French peace negotiations may be reopened a fortnight after Christmas. The English plenipotentiary is to be the Prince of Wales.

2. Until the French conditions are exactly known, negotiations must be dilatory in character,—the main English point is the “permanent liberty” of their possessions in France.

¹ Baker, *l.c.*, 124. On June 1, 1355, Edward speaks of the French ambassadors in strong terms: they were sent “in dolo” to the Pope, while the King was “vulpina calliditate, unum agens et aliud similans” (see Rymer, III, 303, 3). We can easily understand why Edward fought for the sovereign right in Guyenne, when we consider the causes of friction arising from the right of the English vassals to appeal to the Court of France as is to be seen in Rothwell’s and Black’s articles in *E.H.R.*, XIII, 572, and XVII, 518.

² Rymer, III, 333, 5.

³ *Ib.*, 334: “Consimiles litterae fiunt sub data XV diei Decembris.”

⁴ Fol. 56b-57b, Appendix, p. 97.

3. On account of the dilatory character of the proceedings another term has to be fixed, if possible at Guines (*lieu acoustume*), between Easter and Whitsuntide next.

4. If the French are not inclined to grant "permanent liberty," an effort must be made to get (a) liberty for a certain period, (b) territorial compensations, (c) compensations in money, and (d) compensation by marriage. The intentions of the French should be sounded during these dilatory negotiations by the discussion of those points.

5. An armistice is to be initiated, possibly till S. John (24 June) next, but excluding Brittany and Normandy, if the Duke of Lancaster does not inform the Prince of Wales that he wishes to be included.¹ In this case Philip of Navarre² and his adherents must be included as well as William of Bavaria, and his possessions, namely Hainault, Holland and Zeeland, and Aymer de Belvoir,³ but not the Scotch,⁴ who are to have special negotiations with England at London.

6. On the occasion of the negotiations the cardinal⁵ must be informed of the Papal encroachments and of the malice of the Bishop of Ely⁶ and of the census demanded for England and Ireland, so that he may try to annul the censures against King Edward.

7. The English plenipotentiaries must procure information as to the boundaries of Guyenne in order to be able to settle former discrepancies.

¹ On 15 Dec., 1356, Lancaster was made plenipotentiary to treat for Brittany and Normandy.

² Philip is the brother of Charles of Navarre. When the latter was arrested by the French in April, 1356, Philip invited the English to Normandy, Tout, *Pol. Hist.*, III, 387. On June 18 Lancaster landed at La Hogue to aid the Norman rebels and to establish John of Montfort in Brittany, *ib.* For Charles II (le Mauvais), see Delachenal, *Charles V*, vol. I, p. 74 sqq.

³ William of Bavaria, Count of Holland, had married Matilda, daughter of Henry of Lancaster, in 1352; cf. L. E. Cohn, *Stammtafeln in Geschichte*, 1871. Aymer de Beauvoir occurs in Rymer, III, pt. i, 349.

⁴ See *ib.*, 328.

⁵ Cardinal Talleyrand, who was with the French army and negotiated with the English before the Battle of Poitiers; see Tout, *Pol. Hist.*, III, 389. Soon after Poitiers Talleyrand reopened negotiations with Edward, Prince of Wales, *ib.*, 392.

⁶ Concerning the case between the Bishop of Ely and the daughter of Lancaster, see Tout, *Chapters*, III, 207. I could not find any other information of this case being discussed at Avignon, or of the King being threatened with ecclesiastical censures.

8. The King orders the Prince of Wales to come to London with his royal prisoner.¹

The negotiations lasted till March 24, 1359, when the Treaty of London was concluded.² This treaty had the same fate as the treaty of April 6, 1354, and was not ratified. The final treaty was concluded at Brétigny on May 8, 1360.³

It is interesting to see how Edward realised all his territorial claims, even those possessions which he was willing to renounce in 1354, according to the secret instruction to his ambassadors. The suzerainty of Guyenne was granted to him for : "ce que le roy tient en Guienne et Gascoigne," he possesses "ce que en demaine en demaine, ce que en fié en fié."⁴ It would lead us too far afield to discuss every detail of this final treaty. The facts are clear enough to show the tenacity with which Edward pursued his political claims in France till he attained his object, namely the overthrow of the French suzerainty in Guyenne.⁵ Our new documents therefore confirm the fact that Edward III went to war with France because of his determined political claims and not as the bellicose adventurer depicted by some historians. We have to take this into account in searching for the clue to Edward's behaviour to Charles de Blois.

As an analysis of the political documents shows, after the seizure of Calais the strategical objective of Edward was to make peace with France on terms securing him large districts in France and to secure their possession by a general treaty. As I see it, the claims relating to Brittany were only a tactical objective in order to attain the strategical one. The treaty of March 1, 1353, with Charles de Blois, was primarily a means towards securing a treaty with France. Whichever of the two claimants could help him to achieve the main

¹ On May 24, the Prince led King John through the streets of London, Tout, *Pol. Hist.*, III, 393.

² E. Cosneau, *Les grand traités* (1889), p. 1 ; another copy is in Rylands Latin MS. 404, ff 59^b-64^b ; cf. *E.H.R.*, XLV, p. 370, No. 128.

³ Cosneau, 33.

⁴ Cosneau, 40.

⁵ Edward's tenacity on this point confirms the thesis of Déprez, *Preliminaires de la guerre de cent ans* (Bibl. des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 86 (1902)), that the main reason of the 100 Years' War was found in Southern France, where the English King was the vassal of the French, cf. pp. 4, 48, 55, 64. See also, M. Gavrilovitch, *Traité de Paris de 1259* (Bibl. de l'École des Hautes Études, 1899).

object was the one to be made use of in the political intrigue, and the terms of the treaty of 1353 must accordingly have been most alarming to the French King.¹ It is no wonder, therefore, that the initiator of the peace treaty of April 6, 1354, was the French King, who induced the Pope to open the negotiations.² The French King knew the danger of an alliance between England and Brittany,³ and therefore used his influence with the Pope to frustrate Charles' endeavours to procure dispensations for the marriage.⁴ This helped to induce the French King to agree to a general treaty, namely the Treaty of Guines, with Edward. It is not clear whether King John ever had any intention of ratifying it, or whether he intended from the first to play false. Anyhow, as soon as Edward thought his possessions secured by a treaty giving him the sovereign rights over his French subjects, Charles de Blois was only of importance to him on account of his ransom. Before the Treaty of Guines was concluded on March 18, he replaced his lieutenant in Brittany, Jean Avenel, by Thomas Holland, with the object of renewing the war.⁵ Edward's daughter, who had been promised to Charles' son, was shortly afterwards married to Jean de Montfort.⁶ When the treaty of 1354 was not ratified, and England once more came to blows with France, the Prince of Navarre became an English partisan in northern France,⁷ and shortly after the treaty of August 9, 1356,⁸ Lancaster introduced the young Montfort into Brittany.

Charles is not mentioned in the truce of March 23, 1357.⁹ He is now, it seems, abandoned by every one, and is left faced with the payment of his heavy ransom. After a delay of several days, mentioned in the quittance, two proctors of Charles delivered the treaty of 1353, sealed with the seals of the King, the Prince of Wales, and other of the English party at London,¹⁰ together with the first portion

¹ Cf. p. 85 *sq.*, §§ 2, 3, 4, 5.

² Cf. p. 70, n. 8.

³ For the value of Brittany to Edward, see Pocquet, I, 302.

⁴ *Ib.* 320.

⁵ Pocquet, 320; Rymer, III, 274, 3.

⁶ Pocquet, 321.

⁷ For the negotiations with Charles in Avignon and the remarkable "plan," see Delachenal, *Charles V*, I, 90.

⁸ Pocquet, I, 339.

⁹ Rymer, III, 384; Pocquet, I, 340, 3.

¹⁰ Rymer, III, 360, 2 (July 13, 1357).

of the ransom, namely 50,000 gold florins paid in 25,000 nobles.¹ This was really only half of the first instalment, with the reduction allowed by the treaty if payment was made without delay.

The same sum was paid as the second instalment in London on November 1, 1357.² On November 18 we learn that Charles' two sons were still captives in English hands.³ Charles sent proctors to England on February 28, 1358,⁴ and on March 1 an order for truce with Brittany was issued.⁵

Edward gave safe-conduct to proctors of Charles de Blois "cum pecunia pro redemptione sua,"⁶ but we do not know if this money ever arrived in England, as there is no entry on the receipt roll.⁷ On May 23 other ambassadors⁸ are mentioned, but we do not know what message they carried. During these years the English were ruling in Brittany.⁹ When the general peace at last was concluded, Charles de Blois was invited to come to Calais,¹⁰ but he refused to attend the conference.¹¹ On March 24, 1361, Edward appointed plenipotentiaries who, together with proctors of the French King, were again on April 24, 1362, at Saint-Omer, to go into the case of Montfort and Blois.¹² We only hear, however, of the prolongation of the truce in

¹ The quittance is printed in Rymer III, 360, 3. The entry in the receipt roll (E. 401, 441) is under July 26, as follows:

Inde habet acquittanciam de magno sigillo de dat' V ^{to} die Julii hoc anno	De Karolo de Bloys ^m VIII ^c III XXXIII l̄i VI s̄ VIII d̄ de precio L ^m florenorum de scuto precio pecii XL d̄ regi soluendo in festo S. Johannis Baptiste proxime preterito in parte solucionis redemptionis sue.—sol.
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² The quittance is printed in Rymer, III, 382, 2. The entry in the Receipt roll (E. 401, 443) is under October 31, as follows:

Inde habet litteras regis acquittancie de magno sigillo sub dato primi diei Nouembris	De Karola de Blois ^m VIII ^c III XXXIII l̄i VI s̄ VIII d̄ de precio L ^m florenorum de scuto precio pecii XL d̄ regi soluendo in festo omnium sanctorum proxime futuro in parte solucionis redemptionis sue.
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³ Rymer, III, 383, 3.

⁴ *Ib.*, 389, 1.

⁵ *Ib.*, 2.

⁶ *Ib.*, 395, 2.

⁷ Nothing was to be found on the receipt rolls for 1358 (E 401, 446 and 449).

⁸ Rymer, III, 426, 2.

⁹ See Rymer, 432, 3; 4 (6, 3

¹⁰ Rymer, III, 499, 2; 508, 2-4.

¹¹ Pocquet, I, 342.

¹² Rymer, III, 612, 3; the safe-conduct for Charles, *ib.*, 628, 3, to come to Saint-Omer (Pas de Calais) on April 24, 1362; see also *ib.* 634, 4.

Brittany till Michaelmas 1363.¹ Since it was impossible to come to an understanding, open war again broke out between¹ Montfort and Blois, and Charles was slain before the castle of Aurai, on¹ September 29, 1364.²

I have passed briefly over the last events up to the death of Charles de Blois, as they are not closely connected with the documents (printed below) to which this essay is intended to serve as¹ an introduction. It now remains for me to say a few words about the manuscript in which these documents are preserved, namely Rylands Latin MS. 404. Though I thought on first examining the MS. that it was written by an official scribe not long after 1360, I left open the question as to the office in which it was written, whether in the Chancery, the Privy Seal, or the Exchequer.³ On this point the analysis of our new documents may help us. The treaty of 1354, which was never ratified, was not entered on the Chancery Rolls. Further we cannot expect to find there the secret instructions to Lancaster. What was the source from which they were copied into our manuscript some 6 to 10 years after their issue? Were the originals returned by the ambassadors? There is good reason to suppose this was the case. Copies, drafts or enrolments⁴ of them must then have remained in the Privy Seal, and they or the originals must have been copied in our manuscript. If I am not mistaken further evidence of this is given on a small roll, consisting only of one membrane, which is preserved in Westminster Abbey.⁵ We find copied on this roll the document from the Emperor Lewis IV, dated June 25, 1341,⁶ and Edward's answer to the Emperor, dated July 14, 1341.⁷ The roll is written in a contemporary official hand, and may have been the copy used for the same texts found in MS. Dd., 3, 53 of the University Library of Cambridge. The Privy Seal of course had the greatest interest in all these documents, both in those analysed above as well as in those of 1341,⁸ and

¹ Rymer, III, 662, 1; 677, 2.

² Pocquet, I, 346; A. Coville, *Les premiers Valois*, p. 176.

³ *E.H.R.*, XLV, p. 357.

⁴ Cf. Sir H. C. Maxwell-Lyte, *The Great Seal* (1926), pp. 26 sq.

⁵ W.A. MS. 12,200. I have to thank the Assistant Keeper, Mr. L. E. Tanner, M.A., for his help in examining this document.

⁶ Rymer, II, 1166, 2.

⁷ *Ib.*, 1167, 5.

⁸ At the end of the Roll W.A. MS. 12,200, the writer expressed his warm personal feeling towards his King by adding: "Angelus descendit de celo" (Matt. xxviii. 2).

they probably made copies of them or kept the drafts,—the sources of the most valuable documents of our Latin MS. 404. Taking these facts into consideration, the greatest probability is that Latin MS. 404 was written in the Privy Seal.¹

¹ I hope that Dr. Perroy of Edinburgh University will soon give us more details of this interesting matter, from material gathered on a larger scale, *e.g.* from MS. Laing, 351.

APPENDIX.

I.

TREATY OF ALLIANCE BETWEEN EDWARD III AND CHARLES DE BLOIS.

Westminster, March 1, 1353 (1352).

(John Rylands Library Latin MS. fo. 44^a-46^a.)

*Quedam compositio et alligancia perpetua facta inter regem Anglie et nobilem virum dominum Karolum de Bles' tunc prisonarium suum Que tamen aligancia non tenuit (!) nec fuerat executata sicut apparere poterit per quasdam alias convenciones immediate subsequentes.*¹

Conue chose soit a touz que come honourable piere en dieu sire Gautier par la grace de dieu Euesque de Vennes et monsieur Johan sire de Beaumanoir Euein Charruel, Robert de seint pere, chivalers, Raffroi Arcediacre de Rennes et Oliuer de Moizelle messages enuoiez a tres haut et puissant Prince, sire² Edward par meisme la grace Roi dengleterre par la noble dame Johane, duchesse de Bretagne, prelatz Barons et la commune du dit pais pour treter et acorder sur la deliuerance le noble Prince monsieur Charles³ ducs de Bretagne et damour et dalliances perpetueles entre les ditz Roi et duk' et duchesse, lour heirs subgitz et pais eient supplie au dit Roi que pleise a sa roiale mageste encliner a cel tretee, le Roi veillant de sa benoirete sur ce faire ce qe serra plesant a dieu acordant a reson et busoignable pour comune profit des pais auantditz si chargea les sages de son conseil de treter diligealment et resonablement ouesque les ditz messages sur la dite matire, quele matire tretee et debatue ouesque bone et meure deliberacion entre le conseil du Roi dune part et les ditz ducs et messages dautre parte et reportez au Roi, il a la reuerence de dieu et pour commun profit par conseil et assent des grantz et sages esteantz pres de lui. Et le ducs et messages auantditz assentirent et acorderent a les choses ensi tretees en la manere que sensuist :

[1] Primerement est acordez que amour vnitee pays et alliances perpetueles soient desore entre led dit Roi ses heirs subgitz et pais dune parte et les ditz Duc' Duchesse lour heirs subgitz et pais dautre part. Et que les ditz Duc' Duchesse lour heirs et subgiz du pais de Bretagne ne dautres terres

¹ This note is given in the right-hand margin.

² Above the line.

³ Prince monsieur Charles over an erasure in the original. Mr. Charles Johnson has marked this, following the indication given in § 14 of this document.

appourtenantes a ycelle ne de la viscontee de Lymoges ne se armeront contre le Roi ses heirs subgitz ou alliez et aussi ils ne feront eide ne confort ne ne douront conseil en priue ne en appert a ses enemys ou contraires au damage de la guerre du Roi ses heirs subgitz ou alliez ne contre cestes alliances par quecunqe cause en nul temps auenir. Et en meisme la manere le dit Roi ses heirs *et*¹ subgitz ne se armeront contre les ditz Duk' et Duchesse lour heirs ou subgitz quecunqes,² nene feront eide ne confort nene dourront conseil en priue ne en appert as enemys ou contraires des ditz Duc', Duchesse, lour heirs ou subgitz quecunqes,² contre cestes alliances en nul temps auenir.

[2] Item sil auiegne que aucuns de quel estat ou condicion qils soient mouent guerre ou facent empeschement as ditz Duc' ou Duchesse lour heirs subgitz ou au pais de Bretagne ou que les ditz Duk' et Duchesse ou lour heirs ou pais mouent guerre enuers autres, acordez est que le Roi et ses heirs a la requeste du duk' ou de la duchesse ou lour heirs ou pais de Bretagne lour eideront de couenable poair des gentz solonc ce que adonques lestat des ditz Roi ses heirs et subgitz et la busoigne demanderont. Et apres ce que le Roi ou ses heirs lour auront ensi eidez de fait a lour requeste come desus est dit que de celle heure enauant les ditz Duk' et Duchesse lour heirs subgitz et pais se armeront pour le Roi et eideront lui ses heirs et subgitz toutes les foitz que busoigne serra perpetuellement contre touz Franceis et autres nulle persone forsprie ouesque gentz et poair solonc ce que lestat des ditz Duk' et Duchesse lour heirs et pais et la busoigne demanderont. Et que en meisme la manere de celle heure enauant le Roi ses heirs et subgitz soient tenuz de eider as ditz Duk' et Duchesse lour heirs et pais auantditz.

Item sil auiegune auant le temps que les ditz Duk' et Duchesse lour heirs subgitz et pais se deiuient armer pour le Roi contre touz come auant est dit que le Roi ou ses heirs eient busoigne de eide des genz darmes, le dit Duk' lui seruira en propre persone de sa fraunche volentee tant come il se purra armer ouesque couenable poair des gentz darmes et darchers a ses propres costages et misions en quel lieu que le Roi voudra aler sauuant sa ligeance et son honour deuers autres. Purueuz toute foitz que del heure que le Roi ou ses heirs auront eide as ditz Duc' ou a ses heirs come dessus est dit, que lors les ditz Duk' et Duchesse, lour heirs et pais soient tenuz de eider au Roi ses heirs subgitz et pais contre touz Franceis et autres en manere auandite.

[3] Item acordez est que les ditz Duk' et Duchesse lour heirs et subgitz ne soeffreront les Franceis lour eidantz ou alliez guerroiier le Roi ses heirs subgitz ou alliez par Bretagne ne par la viscontee de Limoges, et en meisme la manere que le Roi ne ses heirs ou subgitz ne feront guerre as Franceis parmy le pais de Bretagne ne par la viscontee de Limoges tantque la guerre soit meue parentre les Franceis et *les*³ Bretons; Mes apres celle guerre meue, lise au Roi ses heirs et lour gentz franchement arriuier en Bretagne et passer par la terre et aussi par la viscontee de Limoges ouesque lour host pour guerroiier le Franceis si bien en confort du pais de Bretagne come pour leexploit de lour propres guerres [f. 44^b] come dessus est dit.

¹ Above the line.

² *ou subgitz quecunques* on erasure in the original, cf. p. 84, n. 3.

³ Above the line.

[4] Item sil auiegne que desore en auant le Roi ou ses heirs ou leur gentz vieignent ouesque host ou en autre manere par mere sur la costiere de Bretagne soient suffertz bonement dy arriuer et demorir pour eulx refrescher des vitailles et d'autres choses necessaires pour leur deniers paiantz. Et soient receuz et tretez en amiable manere sanz empeschement ou destourber.

[5] Item que touz Marchantz et autres personnes de quele parte qils soient del obeissance ou poair le Roi puissent perpetuelement seurement venir en Bretagne et aillours dedeinz le poair, les ditz Duk' et Duchesse et y demorir et departir franchement quant leur plerra par terre et par meer fesantz pesiblement leur busoignes et paiantz custumes et autres deuoirs deuz en celle partie. Et en meisme la manere facent les Bretons subgitz et alliez des ditz Duk' et Duchesse toutes partes dedeinz le poair le Roi sanz estre empeschez, et aussi les niefs et autres vessaux de meer dune parte et dautre puissent venir et demorir en touz portz et lieux sur la costiere dengleterre et de Bretagne et aillours deinz le poair les ditz Roi et duc' et duchesse. Et les gentz dune parte et dautre entrecommunier et marchander toutes partes en manere come len soleit faire en temps de peys sanz ce que meismes les gentz leur biens et niefs soient arrestez empeschez ou damages par cause de trespas ou contract' ou guerre fait en temps passez. Et si nul grief ou damage soit fait ou done par tielx Marchantz ou autres gentz ou subgis quecunques dune parte¹ ou dautre soit la chose par les Justices du lieu la ou le dit grief' ou damage aura ensi este fait hastiement et couenablement redrescez. Et par cause des tielx debatz meuz ou aesmouer entre elx ne soit ceste alliance emfraine. Et est lentencion que les Marchantz et Mariners et autres² qi passeront par la meer dune part et dautre pourront bien auoir et porter leur armures pour leur seurete nemie pour damage doner ou mal faire.

[6] Item acordez est que mariage se face entre Johan filz eisme des ditz Duc' et Duchesse et dame Margarete fille le dit Roi; [a] issint quant le dit Johan apres le matrimoine parfait entre lui et la dite fille decede apres qil soit Duc' de Bretagne, que la dite fille que lors serra Duchesse de Bretagne eit son dowair solonc la coustume du pais de Bretagne, cest assavoir le tierz de tout dont le dit Johan duc' son Baron feust seisi en quecunque pais. Et en cas que le dit Johan apres le matrimoine fait entre lui et la dite fille decede auant qil soit duc', que la dite fille eit dys mill liurees de terre et de rente des bons petitiz tournois pour son dowair, acountant cynk *tournois*³ a vn esterling' currant en Engleterre, et que celles terre et rente soient assignees et nomees en certaines lieux couenables dedeinz la dite duchee de Bretagne et en la viscontee de Limoges. [b] Et le dit Duc' se ferra fort et serra tenu de impetrer dispensacion de la Court de Rome a ses propres costages pour le dit matrimoine acomplir et a ce faire mettra il sa diligence ouesque tout le hast qil purra. [c] Item sil auiegne que dieu defende que la dite dame Margarete decede auant que esposailles et matrimoine se facent entre le dit Johan et elle adonques le dit Johan prendra lautre petite fille le Roi souz meismes les condicions. Et aussi si le dit Johan que dieu ne voille decede auant qe les esposailles et matrimoine se facent entre lui et la dite dame Margarete,

¹ *quecunques dune parte* over erasure in original, cf. p. 84, n. 3.

² An erasure between *autres* *qi* in original. ³ Above the line.

adonques Guion son puisne friere sil lui souruiue eit meisme la dite dame Margarete souz les condicions auantdites. Et sil auiegne que la dite dame Margarete *decede*¹ apres les esposailles faites entre le et le dit Johan avant que matrimoine soit fait entre eux ensi qil ne se pourra marier a autre petite fille sanz dispensacion, le dit duc et ses heirs se feront fortz de pourchacer et impetier dispensacion de la Court de Rome pour le dit meisme mariage faire et acomplir. Et lors prendra le dit Johan ycelle autre petite fille le Roi soere de la dite *dame*¹ Margarete souz les condicions susdites et en cest cas et en touz autres cas surdiz si bien quant a mariage du dit Johan come de Guion son frere ouesque les dites filles le Roi come dessus est dit ; le dit duc' et ses heirs serront tenuz et se feront fortz de pourchacer dispensacion de la dite court de Rome a lour propres coutages.

[7] Item quant a la deliuerance du dit duc' de prison, si veult le Roi pour attraire et affermer deuers lui lamour du dit Duc' de ses gentz et de son pais faire gracieusement ouesque [f. 45^a] le dit Duc'. Et est acordez que pour la deliuerance le Duc' et pour le rendre des Chastelx fortilesces villes et terres qui sont prises de guerre et tenuz en noun le Roi en la manere contenue en l'article proschein suant, le dit duc' paiera au dit Roi ou a ses heirs trois centz Mille escutz dor fin de loial pois et coigne, chescun escu valant quarante bons esterlings dargent courrant en Engleterre en sis anz proscheins auenir par oweles porcions, [a] si ouerte guerre ne soit en dit temps entre le pais de Bretagne et les Franceis, cest assauoir chescun au cinquante Mille escutz a deux termes de lan le primer terme commenceant a la feste de seint Michel proschein auenir et le secund terme a la Pasque proschein ensuant. Et ensi dan en an durantz les sis anz auantditz. [b] Et en cas que ouerte guerre soit es parties de Bretagne par cause de ceste alliance, le Roi eant consideracion as grantz coutages et frez que le dit Duc' et ses gentz feront par celle cause voet et grante que le paiement de la dite somme se face en oyt anz cest assauoir en chescun des sept anz quarante Mille escutz et en loctisme an vint Mille escutz as termes susnomez par oweles porcions, et outre ce cestes choses acordees le dit Duc' ad deliuiere et quitez monsieur Johan de Beauchamp' son prisoner franchement et quitement de sa prisone. Et sur ce lui fera auoir lettres suffisantz si bien de lui meismes come de touz autres as quelx il est obligez par quecunque manere par cause de sa prisone.

[8] Item cestes choses affermees et asseurees le Roi en la manere desouz escrite fera rendre de fait as Duc' et Duchesse et a lour subgitz touz les chastelx fortilesces, villes et terres que le dit Roi ses subgitz lieges et obeissantz tiegnent ore en Bretagne et en la viscontee de Limoges en noun du Roi et de Johan de Montfort, Exceptees les terres que serront ordinees et assignees au dit enfant de Montfort, Et fera ouster touz ses obeissantz des chastelx fortelesces villes et terres auantdites. Et si nul qi tient aucuns des ditz Chastelx ou fortelesces et villes ne voille obeir au Roi ou a ses mandementz en celle partie, le Roi enuoiera poair a ses coutages de eider as ditz Duc' et pais de Bretagne de les oster par forte main.

[9] Item pour appaiser le debat ou dissencion qil y a entre les ditz Duc' et duchesse et le dit Johan filz et heir du Counte de Montfort, si est acordez

¹ Above the line.

que les ditz duc' et duchesse ou leur heirs douront et assigneront au dit enfant et a ses heirs sept Mille liures par an en terres et rentes des bons petitiz tournois cynk tournois valentz vn esterling dengleterre, cest assavoir toute la terre que son pere tynt en Guerrande ouesque toutes les appourtenances en value de Mille liures de la dite Monoie a tenir heritablement des ditz Duc' et Duchesse et leur heirs aussi entierement et en meisme la manere come son pere la tynt. Et les sys Mille liures residues a prendre en autres places couenables en Bretagne tantque il soit pourueu de terre a la value en lieux couenables a tenir heritablement des ditz Duc' et Duchesse et leur heirs. Et serront tenuz les ditz Duc' et Duchesse et leur heirs de doner et assigner audit enfant par lasset et agreement du Roi terres et rentes a la value des auantditz sys Mille liures de tournois par an quant il vendra a son age; en cas qils ne le aueroient fait deuant, ou ce qen faudra en cas que partie lui feust assignee deuant, a tenir des ditz Duc' et Duchesse et leur heirs. Et serra faite lassiete en lieu suffisantz prisez a la coustume du pais. Et en cas que le contee de Montfort soit deliuree au dit enfant et qil en puisse ioier pesiblement, soit deuant la dite assiete ou apres. Il lauera et prendra pourtant come ele vaut en partie de satisfaccion de les sys Mille liures annueles auantdites, Et ce qen faudra lui facent les ditz Duc' et Duchesse¹ ou leur heirs parfournir aillours es lieux couenables. Et aussi est acordez que le Roi par cause que le dit enfant est en sa garde et gouvernement enuoiera vn couenable Gardein es parties de Bretagne pour auoir la garde de la dite terre de Guerrande od les appourtenances et pour prendre et rescevoir les profitz et reuenues dycelle en noun de lenfant, tantque a son age, le quel age est de vint et vn an solonc la coustume du pais de Bretagne et aussi de receiure le paiement de deux Mille liures de tournois par an de la dite somme anuele de sys Mille liures tantque a lage de meisme lenfant. Et quant a les quatre Mille liures residues le Roi de sa grace et franche volente ad grantez de acquiter ent les ditz Duc' et Duchesse et leur heirs deuers le dit enfant tantque a son age dessusdit. Et toutes les alliances parentre le Roi et les Duc et Duchesse et leur pais assurees et affermees le dit enfant de Montfort fera renunciacion en manere que deuera suffir pour les ditz Duc' [f. 45b] Duchesse et leur heirs.

[10] Item acordez est que les terres confisquees et prises en la mein du dit Duc' ou ses subgitz ou adherenz en Bretagne et en la viscontee de Limoges par cause de ceste guerre ou adherdence a la partie le counte de Montfort soient rendues a celx as quelx elles appartenioient auant la guerre ou a leur heirs ou a celx as quelx elles deuroient appartenir en cas que guerre ne eust este, Ja soit ce que Englois soient mariez a aucuns as queux aucunes des dites terres appartenent et que nuls de ceux de quel estat ou condicion qils soient qont este deuers le Roi ou de la partie de Montfort en ceste guerre de Bretagne ne soient desherite empeschez ne molestez par les ditz Duc' et Duchesse ou leur heirs ne par nul de leur subgis par la dite cause par colour de forfaiture rebellion ne en autre manere, einz qils puissent franchement ioier de leur heritages et autres biens quecunques es parties de Bretagne et aillours en le poair le Duc' et Duchesse sanz destorbance ou empeschement.

¹ Et ce qen faudra lui facent les ditz Duc' et Duchesse, over erasure in the original; cf. p. 84, n. 3.

[11] Item acordez est que les choses susdites asseurees, les seaux de la mer et briefs de Bretagne que les ducs de Bretagne soloient mettre a Burdeux et aillours celles parties soient mis desore par le dit duc' et duchesse et leur heirs en manere come soleit estre fait auncienement auant la guerre comencee.

Item pour les choses susdites affermer et pleinement accomplir et garder sanz enfreindre en nul point le dit duc' et le honorable pierre en dieu leuesque et les autres Messages auantditz si bien pour eux et en leur noun propre, come en noun de la dite Duchesse et touz autres des quelx ils sont messages et procurours. Et aussi monsieurs Pieres Foucant et Henri ^{de}¹ Pledrain Chiualers, Mestre Alein de Burgon, dean de Poubels, Tristan de Pestinien et Alein de Carenrais, escuiers de la partie du dit Duc' ont iure corporelement sur seintz ewangils de tenir et accomplir en quantque a eux attient et chescun de eux en bone foi sanz fraude et mal engyn toutes les choses dessus acordees, et que eux et chescun deux en quantque en lui est mettront leur poair loial que la dite Duchesse et touz les prelatz Barons et communalitez de bones villes de Bretagne et de la viscontee de Limoges lureront corporelement sur seintz en presence de notair publiques qils tendront parfourniront et accompliront en bone foi sanz mal engin en quantque a eux attient toutes les choses auandites sanz venir a lencontre en nul temps auenir. Et que sur ce facent touz les prelatz et Barons lettres patentes sealees de leur sealx et instrumentz publiques souz mains et signes de notairs et les manderont au Roi. Et les communs des bones villes assemblez feront meisme le serement ouertement deuant le duc' ou son commissaire et en presence des notaires et sur ce dys ou douze des plus suffisantz de chescune ville feront leur lettres ouesque instrumentz publiques come dit est, et si ont les ditz Duc et messages purement et simplement et de leur franche volente si bien en leur nouns propres come de ceux de quelx ils sont procurours renuncie a toutes excepciones de droit et de fait de doubte et de paour que pourra cheir en home constant et de prisone et de fraude et tricherie et toutes autres remedes que leur pourront valoir en defaisance ou empeschement des choses susdites. Et qils se feront fortz a tout leur loial poair que la dite Duchesse prelatz nobles et communs auanditz feront an tiele renunciacion sanz fraude ou mal engin. Et aussi mettront leur loial poair que toutes les choses susdites serront confermees par la court de Rome.

[12] Et pour greignour seurete des paiementz et dautres choses susdites le dit duc mandera hastiement pour ses deux filz Johan et Guion auantditz et pour Marie sa fille et les fera venir en Engleterre a demorer y en la garde du Roi, cest assauoir le dit Johan en hostage pour l'accomplissement du dit mariage et des autres alliances susdites, Et les ditz Guion et Marie en hostage pour le dit Duc' et pour paiement de sa ranceon, et serront as coustages du Duc' et du pais de Bretagne tant come ils demorront hostages, Et cestes choses faites, le dit duc' sur meismes les hostages ira vers son pais a parfournir cestes alliances et les choses susdites, et mesnera ouesque lui la dite dame Margarete pour demorir od la duchesse.

[13] Et adonques le Roi enuoiera ouesque lui aucuns des soens tielx come lui plerra pour veoir que les alliances soient parfournnees es dites parties et pour estre presens a lenseller des lettres et a la faisance des instrumentz

auantditz et pour les remander au Roi et maintenant quant les dites alliances serront assurees et affermees [f. 46^a] et que celx qi serront ensi enuoiez depar le Roi aueront les lettres seales et *les*¹ instrumentz deuers elx, ils aueront adonques poair suffisant de faire liuerer as ditz Duc' et Duchesse les chastelx, fortesces, villes et terres auantditz en la fourme susdite es parties de Bretagne. Et puis irront a la visconte de Lymoges pour prendre les seuretes et pour rendre les chastelx illoeqes. Et est lentencion qe sils feussent aucuns rebelles ou desobeissantz de la partie du dit Duc', qi ne se vousissent mie acorder a ceste alliance ou si aucuns y feussent absentz hors du paais, ou si aucuns des Barons y feussent de meindre age qi ne pourroient faire serement, pour tant ne serroient mie meismes les alliances enfreintes nempeschez ne le rendre des villes ne des chastelx delaye parensi toutes foitz que la greignoure et la plus puissante partie du pais sacorde. Pourueu que ceulx qi sont absentz se obligent par serementz et par lettres de garder meismes les alliances a plus tost qils retourneront en pays sanz fraude ou mal engyn. Et en meisme la manere feront ceux qi sont de meindre age a plustost qils vendront a tiel age qils le puissent faire. Et en dementiers lour Gardeins et tutours feront meisme la seurete en noun de meismes les enfantz. Et aussi est acordez que apres le dit matrimoigne et les autres alliances surditees acomplies, le Roi puisse retenir le dit Johan fuiz du dit Duk' deuers lui et en sa compaignie par oyt anz ou dys ou tant come il lui plerra.

[14] Le Roi aussi et son eisne fuiz monsieur Edward' Prince de Gales Duc' de Cornewaille et Conte de Cestre ont promis en bone foi et souz lour Chiualerie pour eux et pour lour heirs et subgitz de tenir et faire tenir et pleinement garder en quantque a eux attient toutes les choses susescrites et chescune dycelles sanz fraude et mal engyn. Et les reuerentz piers en dieu sire Johan Erceuesque Deuerwyk' Primat dengleterre, Chancellor, et William Euesque de Wyncester Tresorer dengleterre, et friere Simon *abbe*¹ de Westmouster, et les honorables hommes sire Johan de Wynwyk' Tresorer de leglise Deuerwyk', et Thomas de Brembre Chanoigne de Nicole ont iurez sur sentz ewangils qils a tout lour poair procureront et solonc ce que lour estat soeffre loialment conseilleront et aussi feront lour diligence que toutes les choses auantdites soient fermement sanz enfreindre gardez. Et aussi les nobles hommes messires Thomas de Beauchamp Counte de Warrewyk', Roger de Mortimer, Berthelmeu de Burghersh' leisne Barons, et messires Johan de Beauchamp', Robert de Maule, Johan Auenel, et Guillaume Daubeyne Chiualers de la partie le dit Roi ont iurez sur seintz ewangils qils garderont fermement quantque en eux est toutes les choses auandites et loialment mettront lour eide et conseil qils pourront bonement qelles soient fermement gardez. En tesmoignance de toutes les choses dessusdites et chescune dycelles nous desusditz Charles duc', leuesque de Vennes, Johan seigneur de Beaumanoir, et nous autres chiualers, procureurs et messages susditz avoms mis et apposez noz sealx a cestes presentes lettres a demorer pardeuers le Roi auant dit et ses heirs.

Les rasures et entrelinaires dessus escritz sensuent : en la seconde lygne "prince monsieur Charles" en la septime "et aussi ils" en la oytisme lygne

¹ Above the line.

“ou subgitz quecunque” en la noefuisme lygne “ou subgitz quecunques” en la vint et quatre lygne “quecunques dune parte” en la cinquantisme lygne “auantdites et ce gen faudra lui facent les ditz Duc’ et Duchesse.” Donne au Palays du dit monsieur le Roi a Westmoustre empres de Londres le primer iour de Marz lan de grace Mll. CCCLII.

II.

AN UNRATIFIED TREATY BETWEEN (EDWARD III) AND THE FRENCH KING (JOHN II).

Guine, April 6, 1354.

(John Rylands Library Latin MS. 404, fo. 55a-56a.)

[f. 55a] *Copia tractatus pacis inter regem Anglie et Francie facti apud Cales’ VI^{to} die Aprilis anno domini M^oCCC^{mo}LIIII^{to}.*

En noun de dieu. Cest laccort du trettee de pees tenu et fait deuant le Chastel de Guynes entre le tres noble seigneur le Roi dengleterre dune part et son aduersaire de France dautre, par la mediacion le Reuerent pierre en dieu le Cardinal de Boloigne et parmy les reuerentz pieres en dieu et nobles seigneurs Guilliam Euesque de Norwiz, Guilliam Conte de Huntyngdon’, Michel de Norburgh’ sire de lois secretaire du Roi, et Renaud de Cobham capitain de Calais, pour le Roi nostre seigneur; et Piers Erceuesque de Roan, Guilliam Euesque de Beauuois, et Guilliam Euesque de Laon, ‘A’ Conte de Rossy, Piers de Chastilloun sieur de la Ferete, et ‘R’ de Lorriz Chamberlein del dit aduersaire depar lui, le sisme iour d’avril lan de nostre seigneur Mille CCCLIIII.

[1] *Premerelement assentu est quod dominus Rex Anglie habebit in forma pacis omnia et singula contenta in quadam cedula, quam idem dominus Rex transmisit domino pape, et iuxta formam et modum in eadem contenta, videlicet quod habebit totum ducatum Aquitanie seu Guyenne pro se et heredibus suis imperpetuum libere et in allodio et absque quacumque superioritate homagio seu resorto, veluti vicinus, ita integrum et plenum sicuti vnquam aliqui Reges Anglie Duces Aquitanie dictum Ducatum in toto aut per partes tenuerunt vel habuerunt temporibus eorundem.*

Item cum dicto ducatu habebunt dominus Rex Anglie et heredes sui imperpetuum libere et in allodio vt prefertur: Comitatus Pictauiensem Turonensem Andegauensem Cenomanensem Pontiui et Lemouicensensem in casu quo non fuerit de Ducatu; hoc tamen saluo, quod pro Comitatu Pontiui dominus Rex Anglie quietabit dominum Francie erga dominam Reginam Anglie matrem suam, cuius est hereditas pro se et filiis suis.

Item habebit dominus Rex villas et Castra Cales’ de Merk’ de Oye de Colne de Sandgate et de Gynes cum pertinenciis et nobilitatibus ac omnibus terris mariscis nemoribus aquis et locis intermediis necnon iuribus adiacentibus.

seu annexis, que adquisiuit per guerram et a tempore guerre citra, libere et in allodium vt prefertur.

[2] Item quoad ducatum Aquitanie et bundas eiusdem consensum est et concordatum est per partes, quod in ducatu continentur patrie infrascripte, videlicet omnes terre ville Castra et loca que dominus Karolus de Valoys adquisiuit per guerram, et alia descripta in quadam alia cedula sigillata sigillo Cardinalis. De aliis vero partibus finibus et limitibus dicti ducatus, de quibus iam fuit altercatum et de quibus altercari poterit in futurum, concordatum est, quod ex parte cuiuslibet dominorum Regum eligantur due persone fidedigne scientes notabiles et pontentes, qui iurati bona fide inquirent insimul per testes per visum et per omnes alias euidentias quas poterunt, citra mensem Octobris proxime iam futuri cum diligencia de premissis plenariam veritatem; quorum electorum dictis, si concordauerint, dicti domini Reges stare pro se et heredibus suis imperpetuum tenebuntur, si autem discordauerint aut infra mensem Octobris non inquisiuerint, vt prefertur, aut non poterunt concordare, tunc sanctissimus papa dominus Innocencius, qui nunc est, sub nomine proprio Stephani Alberti, recepta plena bona et fidei informatione iuxta bonam conscienciam atque fidem veluti impar si sibi placuerit, mediabit et de dictis finibus bundis et limitibus iuxta bonam suam conscienciam ordinabit statuet et discernet citra Kalendas Decembris proxime iam futuri, nisi dictus dominus papa ex causa voluerit dictum tempus, infra quod ipse haberet vt premititur ordinare, ad vnum mensem de consensu nunciorum dictorum dominorum Regum vltius prorogare et eiusdem domini Pape dicto ordinacioni et decreto dicti domini Reges pro se et heredibus suis imperpetuum stare necessario tenebuntur, et pro limitibus huiusmodi, de quibus fuit ut premititur altercatum, dare et recipere quod idem dominus papa vt premititur ordinabit.

[3] Item duo filii minores domini Regis Anglie recipient in vxores duas filias Regis Francie, si dicto domino Regi Anglie et filiis placuerit, cum peruenerint ad legi- [f. 55b] timam etatem, et in illum euentum, quo placuerit, recipiet dominus Rex Anglie pro qualibet dictarum filiarum Regis Francie centum milia scudatorum bonorum antiquorum vel valorem in alia moneta.

[4] Item si dominus rex Francie qui nunc est vel aliquis predecessorum suorum aliquas villas terras Castra loca feuda aut aliqua quecumque in dicto ducatu Aquitanie seu Gyenne donauerit vendiderit permutauerit aut quouis modo alienauerit aut ea aliquo modo obligauerit seu onerauerit, huiusmodi donationes vendiciones permutaciones alienaciones obligaciones et onerationes seu onera penitus adnullabuntur reuocabuntur et cassabuntur, omniaque predicta Rex Anglie recipiet libere, vt inde faciat id quod volet, et idem de Comitatus supradictis, qui non sunt de ducatu, si occasione guerre aliqua donauerit alienauerit vel quouis modo onerauerit.

[5] Item quod fient lige alligaciones et amicie perpetue firme et inuolabiles inter dictos Reges et regna ac terras districtus et dominia eorundem contra omnes gentes, non obstantibus quibuscumque ligis alligacionibus et amiciciis contractis cum quibuscumque personis aliis terris seu regnis iuramento seu alia quacumque firmitate vallatis, et quod super dictis iuramentis dispensacio a sede apostolica impetretur.

[6] Item quod omnes qui per Reges predictos seu eorum aliquem exheredati vel spoliati fuerint in regnis eorum occasione guerre, ad sua iura et

dominia libere reuertantur. Illa tamen que Rex Anglie in regno Francie per guerram adquisiuit, et que per pacem istam sibi resütuentur, sibi et heredibus suis remaneant imperpetuum libere vt est dictum.

[7] Item ordinatum est, quod dominus papa pronuntiabit omnia supradicta; qui in pronunciacione sua accipiet sibi colores quos voluerit et poterit pro honore dominorum Regum, et faciet dispensaciones et alia quibus partes in ista concordia indigebunt, et fiet pronunciacio in presencia solempnium nunciorum dominorum Regum predictorum, quos dicti domini Reges mittent et mittere tenebuntur tam prelatos quam dominos temporales; et inter alios aliquos de genere eorundem citra mensem Octobris proxime iam futuri cum procuratoris bonis et sufficientibus pro se et filiis eorum necnon pro Prelatis Principibus ducibus Comitibus et Baronibus ac paribus dictorum regnorum necnon pro Ciuitatibus Burgis et Villis ac Comitibus dictorum regnorum quos partes hinc inde nominare voluerint infra duos menses a data presencium numerandos ad concordandum et firmandum roborandum et vallandum omnia premissa per submissionem faciendam Camere domini pape et sedi apostolice, et quas-cumque sensuras ecclesiasticas et penas pecuniarias subeundas cum omni alia securitate et firmitate iuratoria et alia quam partes vel earum altera duxerint eligenda, dum tamen pars petens similem securitatem facere voluerit alteri parti. Erunt eciam dicti nuncii dominorum Regum in Romana Curia parati ad premissa omnia complenda et perficienda in presencia domini pape citra Kalendas Octobris predictas.

[8] Et omnia predicta complebunt et perficient quantum in ipsis fuerit, et pronunciacionem dicti domini pape iuxta dicta conducta et super finibus ducatus altercaciones audient recipient et admittent et ratificabunt et emulgabunt expresse et effectui debito mancipabunt, quodque nuncii Regum habebunt potestatem specialem, videlicet Regis Anglie ad renunciandum iuri quod habet et habere poterit in regno et corona Francie. Et nuncii Francie ad concedendum et dandum Regi Anglie ducatum Comitatus et patrias supradictas eidem Regi Anglie et heredibus suis imperpetuum tenendas libere et in allodium sine quacumque subieccione homagio seu resorto vt superius est expressum.

[9] Item nuncii parcium iurarunt, quod illi vel alii, quos domini Reges voluerint ordinare, erunt in Romana Curia citra dictum diem pro omnibus et singulis predictis complendis et perficiendis, et dominus Cardinalis promisit per fidem suam primo in manu Episcopi Norwicensis et postea in manu domini Comitis Huntyngdon', quod omnia predicta fierent et complerentur, et quod nullus reuelaret predicta, nisi illis quibus domini Reges voluerint vel mandauerint, etc.

Item iurabunt nuncii in animas [f. 56^a] dominorum et proprias, quod contra premissa nunquam quicquid in Curia Romana aut alias impetrabunt nec impetratis si que fuerint vtentur.

Item inite sunt treuge vsque ad primam diem Aprilis proxime futuri, et consensum, quod domini duces Comites et Barones vtriusque partis obligabunt se carceribus Londonie et Parisius, qui et prout alias se obligarunt infra mensem et sub sigillis eorum.

III.

A SECRET CREDENTIAL FOR THE DUKE OF LANCASTER AND
THE EARL OF ARUNDEL.

Without date (Oct. 31, 1354).

(John Rylands Library Latin MS. 404, fol. 56b.)

[f. 56 b.] La credence secree que le Duc de Lancastre et le Conte darondelle dirront au seint pere le pape.

[1] Primerement ils lui deiuent moustrer comment le Roi a lonour de dieu toutdys voet estre enclin a bone pees, sil la puisse auoir. Et comment le Roi reconoist les graciouse eides socours et confortz, que nostre seigneur Jhesu Crist lui ad fait toutdys encontre ses enemys, et en toutes ses autres busoignes, et par tant il desir souereinement lui seruir, tant come il est ioesnes et puissant a trauailler en destruccon des enemys dieu en queconque manere qil purra meulz selonc son estat et poair et que dieu lui dorra la grace, queu chose il accepte de sa deuocion propre et ce qil ent ferra.

[2] Il le voet faire de sa franche et bone volente et nemie par voie de obligacion ne cohercion de nullui, et a celle entente, est il descenduz a cestui tretee de pees et relesse tant de son droit heritage, et nemie en autre manere.

[3] Et en cas qils puisse pees auoir selonc le poair que les ditz Seigneurs et les autres messages ent ont, il lui plect bien et la desir par les causes dessusdites, et si noun, qadonques soit en touz pointz, come vnqes neust tretee ne parle de las pees.

[4] Item ils deiuent moustrer au seint pere que pour lentiere affeccion que le Roi ad en lui et toutdys ad eu et a la tresgrande droiture qil suppose fermement en lui, il vouche sauf et voet qil soit nounpeire des choses que purront cheir en debat de la limitacion des boundes en la forme que les ditz Seigneurs ont en charge ouesque les autres messages.

[5] Item que la lettre de credence ne la credence sur cestes matires ne soient moustrees au seint pere sinoun que necessite le requerge pour lexploit des busoignes susdites.

IV.

A SECRET INSTRUCTION GIVEN BY KING AND COUNCIL TO THE
DUKE OF LANCASTER AND THE EARL OF ARUNDEL WHO
ARE GOING TO THE PAPAL COURT.

Westminster, Oct. 31, 1354.

(John Rylands Library Latin MS. 404, fo. 56a-56b.)

La charge donee par nostre seigneur le Roi le darrein iour doctobre lan de son regne XXVIII en la priue Chapelle dedeinz le Palais de Westmoustre as nobles hommes le Duc de Lancastre et le Conte darondelle enuoiez

en message le Roi a la Court de Rome pour le treetee de pees parentre lui et son aduersaire de France, presentz monsieur le Prince Ierceuesque deuerwyk' Chanceller, leuesque de Wyncestre Tresorer, leuesque de Duresme, les Contes de Warrewyk' et de Stafford', monsieur Berthelmeu de Burgherssh', monsieur Johan Beauchamp' et monsieur Johan Grey.

[1] Primerement ils deiuent recommander a nostre seint piere le Pape nostre seigneur le Roi, ma dame la Roine et leur enfantz.

[2] Item il plect au Roi, qils puissent acorder fournir et finalement affermer les choses que feurent darreinement accordees et treetees a Guynes, cest assauer que le Roi eit franc et en allo a lui et a ses heirs perpetuelement en recompensacion de la corone de France toute la duchee de Guyenne si pleinement come vnqes nul Roi dengleterre la tenoit ensemblement oue touz les autres paiis nomez en la cedula nadgaires enuoiee au Pape par le Confessour en la forme que sensuit.

[3] Primerement toutes les duchees daquitayne Guyenne et Normandie et la Contee de Pointoif' aussi entierment come nul des auncestres le Roi vnqes les tenoit et ouesque ce Aungers et Angeou Poitiers et Poitou Maunz et Ymaine Tours et Turoyne Angoleme et Angomes Caourz et Caourzin Lymoges et Lymozin et toutes les terres Chasteux et villes acquisez puis la guerre commencee a auoir et tenir toutes les choses susdites au Roi et a ses heirs franchement come veisin et veisin.

[4] Et il plect au Roi en lonour de dieu et pour eschure la perdicion de Cristiens et pour la reuerence du seint piere en cas que bone pees se puisse prendre, de relessier Normandie Caourz Caourzin et la Contee dangoleme. Et tout soit ce que compris soit en meisme la cedula, que le Roi pour pees auoir, relesseroit Caourz Caourzin et la Contee dangoleme, nestoit mie lentencion du Roi ne vncore nest de lessier les ditz paiis, en cas qils feussent parcellle de la duchee de Guyenne dauncien temps, et ce poet bien apparer par la forme de la dite cedula en tant, que meisme la cedula nome primes toute la duchee entierment et puis outre cela nome les autres paiis dessusditz ouesques autres paiis estranges, nientcompris dedeinz la duchee.

Et est lentencion du Roi que homme demande les dites seigneuries de Caourz Caourzin et Angoleme en demesne, en cas que homme puisse sauoir que aucun de ses auncestres Rois dengleterre les auoit en demesne. Et en cas que ses auncestres ne y auoient forsque les hommages et la souereinete, le Roi voet que homme les demande par meisme la manere que ses auncestres les auoient.

[5] Item en cas que homme ne poet auenir dauoir les ditz paiis par la voie dessusdite pour cause de la cedula que parla au contraire, et nomement Angoleme et Angomes, plect au Roi, que en ce cas homme face recompensacion pour les ditz paiis auoir dautres terres vers le haut paiis ou la chose se purra faire a meindre damage du Roi, et en meindre daunger des Franceis pour temps auenir. Et en cas que lautre partie ne voille nullement acorder a ceste chose, le Roi ne voet mie que la busoigne soit rumpue par celle cause, depuis qil estoit ensi escrit en la cedula.

[6] Et quant a la limitation des terres [f. 56^b] et des boundes de la duchee et de touz les autres paiis, voet le Roi que les seigneurs treetent primerement et acordent en droit des boundes aussi pres come ils pourront deuant qils

moustrent leur poair de faire le Pape nounpiere, et si leur semble que soit affaire que certaines gentz soient assignez dune part et dautre de trier les terres et les boundes, Et sur ce le Roi de certeine science et de sa propre mocion et volente voet et ad commande, que les seigneurs en cas que debat y soit sur la limitacion des terres ou des boundes, puissent granter et assentir, que le pape nemie come Jugge mes come moiene persone soit nounpiere de trier et terminer touz les debatz touchantz la limitacion des terres et boundes dessusdites dedeinz certain temps come dedeinz vn mois apres ce que les informacions en seront prises par les deputez dune part et dautre, et qils puissent cel poair granter au pape ou deuant lenuoier des triours pour trier les boundes ou apres, et a ce faire auront poair en especial.

Et est lentencion du Roi, que toute la busoigne soit fornie et finalement exploite deuant le primer iour daurille prochein auenir, et que le Roi ent soit certifiez deuant cel temps, si homme poet.

[7] Item quant a les seuretees que se ferront de parfournir et tenir la pees et lacort, le Roi voet que lautre partie face toute la seurete, que homme saura ordener ou deuiser, et au tiele seurete voet il faire de sa partie pour lier sa persone et ses heirs et toutes ses terres par dela.

[8] Item le Roi voet que les seigneurs puissent esloigner les treues tanque a la Pentecost' sils voient qil soit affaire selonc ce que les busoignes se taillent illoeqes.

V.

ACCOUNT OF THE DUKE OF LANCASTER OF HIS JOURNEY TO
AVIGNON, 1354/55.

(London, Publ. Rec. Office, E. 101, bundle 313, no. 25.)

Computus Henrici ducis Lancast' euntis usque
Auinion' pro tractatu pacis etc. anno regni
E(dwardi) tercii post conquestum XXIX^o.

In vadiis Henrici ducis Lancast' capientis per
diem C s. euntis per preceptum domini regis
usque Auinion' pro tractatu pacis, ibidem a
XXVIII die Octobr' usque XXVIII^m diem
Marcii eundo morando et redeundo per CL dies
Et in expensis diuersorum militum scutiferorum
et seruientium ad arma conducentium dictum
ducem et familiam suam, eundo et redeundo per
idem tempus in partibus transmariuis

Et in passagio et repassagio equorum dicti ducis
et familie sue inter Douere et Caleis

Et eidem duci de dono domini regis pro diuersis
expensis vltra vadiis suis in dicto viagio faciendis,
vt patet per litteras domini regis de garento

DCCL ii.

CCCXVI ii.

XIII s. IIII d.

CXXVIII ii.

MM marc'.

MMDXXVIII ii.

Summa

Vnde rec(epit) per manus tes(aurarii) regis Anglie mense Octobr' super dicto viagio Et per manus Nicholai atte Halle, Wilhelmi de Canston', Wilhelmi Denny, Wilhelmi Driher et aliorum burgensiam de villa de Douere super passagio equorum dicti duces prestit' tercio die Non' a XXIX ¹	# MM marc'. XXX li.
Et per manus tes(aurarii) regis tercio die Marcii	† MCCCXXXIII li. VI s. VIII d.
Summa recepti	^{xx} MMDCIHXXVI li. XIII s. IIII d.

Et debet alloc(ari) dicto duci super billa sibi debita per dominum regem vt patet per duas litteras de garento directas tes(aurario) regis	† MDCLXVI li. XIII s. IIII d.
Vnde rec(epit) per manus thes(aurarii) regis mense Octobr' a ^o XXIX	DCLXVI li. XIII s. IIII d.
Item prima die Julii eode.n anno M li	

Et sic debentur dicto duci	DCCCXXVI li.
de quibus satisfactum est ei [?] die Maii a ^o XXIX .	VI s. VIII d.

Dorso : Iste particule intrantur primo die Julii
a^o XXIX^o

VI.

A SECRET INSTRUCTION TO THE PRINCE OF WALES.

Dec. 17, 1356.

(John Rylands Library Latin MS. 404, fo. 56^a-57^b.)

La charge donee par nostre seigneur le Roi a monsieur Niel Loreng' et
a ceux qi irront ouesque lui vers monsieur le prince, le XVII iour de Decembre
lan de grace Mille trois centz cynquante et sys.

¹ By another hand : *prestet* . . . XXIX.

[1] Primes, sur le point que le dit monsieur Niel ad moustre au Roi et a son conseil de la iournee prise parentre mon dit seigneur le Prince et les Franceis pour treter a la [f. 57^a] quinzaine de Noel prochain auenir sil plect au Roi nostre dit seigneur le Roi a lonour de dieu *et pour bien de pees*¹ et pour eschure effusion de sanc Cristien et aussint a la reuerence et instance de nostre seint piere le pape et de ses messages les Cardinalx et par cause que mon Seigneur le Prince a la requeste del aduersaire de France et des autres Grantz de sa partie ad molt requis.

[2] Sur ce nostre dit seigneur le Roi voet et est assentu que le dit treetee se tiegne et que mon dit Seigneur le Prince eit poair suffisant de treter tant en propre persone come par ses deputez le quel que lui plerra de pees finale et de trewes parentre le Roi et son aduersaire, et que au dit treetee len doit taster lentencion des Franceis a plus pres que homme purra par toutes voies sanz riens affermer ou acorder finalement, demeurant toutes voies fermement sur le point dauoir libtee perpetuele oue toutes les terres que len purra ouesques ; Et en cas que les Franceis se voillent acorder a cel point de libtee, adonques apres ce que homme leur aura taste a plus auant que len purra, len leur poet dire que tout soit ce que le Roi parmy la mediacion de monsieur le Prince et a linstance de lautre partie ad grante de treter de pees.

[3] Et par les causes susdites, nientmains homme ne y poet faire fin de la busoigne ; tanque les choses lui soient moustrees pour sauoir sa volente en certain, pour quoi il busoigne de prendre autre iournee dedeinz quele, il purra estre certifie de toute la busoigne et dire ent sa volente. Et semble que celle iournee purra estre assignee au lieu acoustume de treter pres de Guynes et a tieu iour come semblera a monsieur le Prince que soit aprendre entre la Pasque et la Pentecoste.

[4] Item en cas que les Franceis ne se voillent par nulle voie assentir au point de libtee perpetuele, vncore homme ne doit par tant rompre le treetee outrement, mes len purra taster de libtee tantque a certain temps oue grande addition de terre par celle cause et oue grande somme dargent et mariages et sur ce assigner autre iour et lieu pour treter souz colour pour taster la volente du Roi sil se voille a tiele voie encliner, et sil ne voille, de ent certifier les Franceis a certain iour en le meen temps deuant le iour de treetee.

[5] Item semble que souz colour et par cause du dit treetee len poet prendre trewes tantque a la seint Johan et semble que celles trewes poet estre generales horspris les paais de Bretagne et Normandie, car homme ne sciet ne ne poet sauoir a present en quel estat le duc de Lancastre et les autres gentz du Roi en celles parties sont a present ne le quel ils vorroient auoir trewes ou nemie. Et aussint semble que en cas qils se puissent maintenir es dites parties contre les enemys que il vaudra plus par plusures causes que la guerre soit ouerte illoeques que autrement, par quoi nostre seigneur le roi ad enuoie au dit duc et a monsieur Philippe de Nauarre aussint qils certifient monsieur le Prince le quel serra plus pour eux destre compris es dites trewes ou noun, Mes en cas que la dite certification ne viegne a mon dit Seigneur le Prince par temps semble pour le meillour que plus toust homme lerra les ditz paais de Bretagne et Normandie outrement hors de trewes que les comprendra dedeinz, sanz ce que

¹ Inserted above the line.

homme feusse certifie deuant qils les vorroient auoir. Mes nientmoins pour sauuer les paroles de la alliance faite parentre nostre Seigneur le Roi et le dit monsieur Philippe len doit afforcer de comprendre es trewes par especial la persone du dit monsieur Philippe et ses adherentz sur tiele condicion sil le voille. Item est parle que es dites trewes soient compris par especial le duc Guiliam de Bauarrie et ses paiis de Henau, Holande et Zelande, monsieur Aymer de Beauvoir ouesque les autres qi ont este compris de deinz les autres trewes prises deuant ces heures. Item que en le tretee de pees, les Escotz soient de tout oustez, et en cas qils purront estre oustez hors des trewes, tant vaudroit le plus et len poet dire comment ils prenent trewes de iour en autre par eux meismes et aussint ils ont tretez plusurs foiz et donez general poair de treter de pees finale tout sanz les Franceis. Et ore a present ils ont pourchacez conduit du Roi pour certains Euesques et autres personnes descoco pour venir a Londres bien par temps pour treter de pees finale par quoi semble que les Franceis par reson les deiuent lesser hors de leur tretee.

[6] Item semble que sur le [57^b] dit tretee fait a parler au Cardinal des attemptatz faitz en la Court de Rome de nouel en grant preiudice du Roi et de sa corone et de tout le Roialme et en defesance de ses leis et custumes et autrement que nad este fait et vsee en temps passe et aussint de leuesque dely et de sa malice. Et outre ce len poet parler del cense que la Court de Rome demande du Roialme dengleterre et dirlande. Et aussint que toute manere des censures si nulles soient pendantes contre le Roi en la dite Court soient defaites et adnullees selonc ce que le dean de Cicestre eut est plus pleinement enformez.

[7] Item quant a les boundes de la duchee de Guyenne et les terres que ont este demandees deuant ces heures come parcelles de la duchee, homme nestoit mie a celle heure suffisantment enformez des dites boundes ne des terres susdites ne homme ne les conoist mie bien pardecea, par quoi il busoigne de prendre sur ce meilloure informacion es parties de Gascoigne pour chaunger et amender ce que len verra que soit affaire.

[8] Item considere lestat pardecea que len ne poet enuoier a present tien confort dargent et des gentz pardela come il busoigneroit pour la demoere monsieur le Prince celles parties et aussint considerez toutplein des perils que purront auenir a mon dit seigneur le Prince, en cas qil y demeurast desgarny que dieu defende, semble que bon serra que apres la seconde iournee de tretee acordee et les trewes affermees, mon dit seigneur le Prince viegne en Engleterre et laduersaire ouesque; Et qil ordeine certaines gentz a demeurer y pour la garde et gouvernement du paiis selonc ce qil verra que meulz soit affaire.

THE KIRKSTALL CHRONICLE, 1355-1400.

EDITED BY M. V. CLARKE, M.A., FELLOW AND TUTOR OF
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From the MS. Dodsworth 140 in the Bodleian Library.

THE White Monks were not great bookmen : the comparative rareness of their chronicles suggests that the management of their estates left them with little inclination for literary pursuits. Yet perhaps the emotions caused by the Great Schism, with its unfortunate practical results upon English houses,¹ and the long drama of Richard II's reign caused in Cistercian monasteries a revived interest in historical writing. It seems that in the first half of the fourteenth century they produced little, and this gives added interest to those which follow.²

The chronicle printed below is an MS. of eleven folios bound up with a volume of Roger Dodsworth's antiquarian collections.³ It bears no heading, no external indication of provenance, but the first page has been worn to a degree of glossiness that points to a separate existence for some years after it was written. The indefatigable Dodsworth perhaps came by it as he did some other documents.⁴ Unlike Anthony à Wood he never scribbled on original

¹ *E.H.R.*, XLIV., p. 373, "The Great Schism and the English Monasteries of the Cistercian Order," by Rose Graham.

² The following is a rough list of the Cistercian chronicles now in print, or in MS. at Bodley or the British Museum: Ailred of Rievaulx, Margam (to 1232), Stanley, co. Wilts (to 1271), Melrose (to 1275), Waverley (to 1291), Hayles (*a* to 1314 and *b* to 1366); "John of Brompton" (to 1199), Pipewell (to 1347), Meaux (to 1396), Kirkstall (*a* to 1370 and *b* to 1400), Dieulacres (to 1403), Louth Park (to 1413), and Whalley (to 1422).

³ MS. Dodsworth 140.

⁴ Dodsworth's visits to public and private collections seem rarely to have been fruitless. MS. Dodsworth 76 is made up of documents (many of them charters) some of which can be traced back to the Hatton Library. For his acquisition of a whole chartulary see the *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, vol. III., p. 71.

MSS., but fortunately for the historian he had a passion for making excerpts from chronicles and chartularies even if they were in his own possession. In one of his invaluable Yorkshire collections Dodsworth has transcribed the *Fundacio Kirkstall*, from a copy lent to him by Mr. Cookes, vicar of Leeds, September 6, 1619.¹ This seems so to have interested him that he at once tracked down the volume containing the original and made notes from it. The owner was Mr. (Thomas) Folkingham of North Hall, near Leeds. Dodsworth at once made extracts from a Carmelite chronicle which it contained,¹ but then turned aside to other work before resuming with a few lines concerning the landing of Henry IV in an old cronicle in MS. in the keeping of Thos. Fowkingham of Norhall in Leeds, esq., that sometime belonged to Kirkstall.² In another volume Dodsworth has an extract, made August 19, 1620, from the *Historia Laceiorum, in quodam antiquo MS. in custodia domini Fawkingham de Leeds, quondam abbatthiae de Kirstall pertinente*.³ So Mr. Folkingham had four MSS. relating to Kirkstall, and three of them are now in MS. Laud misc. 722 at Bodley. The fourth, concerning Henry IV, is from the fragment spoken of above.

Turning now to MS. Laud misc. 722, we find that, according to a statement contained in it, the volume was saved from fire by Thomas Falkingham of Northall, May 1, 1595. It was then in his possession from 1595 to 1620. At one stage Thomas Hundleby seems to have owned it.⁴ The volume came to Bodley by donation from Laud in 1633, but how he acquired it is not known. It is a book of nearly 8 × 6 inches, written in various fifteenth century hands, and comprising the following MSS. :⁵

1. (Foll. 1-32v.) A life of Germanus Attissiodorensis, by Constantine the priest, and (fol. 19) a bestiary.

2. (Foll. 33-88v.) A history of the heptarchy, and (fol. 38v) a chronicle to 1370. This was originally slightly smaller than the other MSS. and did not need clipping by the binder. The signatures are perfect. It is a conventional compilation primarily from the chronicles of Rievaulx ("John of Brompton" and Ailred), with additions from Ralph of Dis and Florence of Worcester.

¹ MS. Dodsworth 116, fol. 148.

² *Ib.*, fol. 28v.

³ MS. Dodsworth 118, fol. 47.

⁴ His signature is on fol. 204v and his initials on fol. 97v, 102v, and 193.

⁵ For the incipits see Coxe's *Cat. Cod. MSS. in Bibl. Bod.*, partis II, fasc. I.

3. (Foll. 89-102^v.) *Acta sancte Barbare*, and (fol. 93) a tract against evil bishops. At fol. 102^v are notes of the capture of Andrew Barton, a pirate, in 1511, and the invasion of Scotland in 1513. On fol. 97^v is a genealogy of the de Lacy family,¹ *beg: Post conquestum autem*.

4. (Foll. 103-114^v.) A brief history of the kingdom, and description of the city, of Jerusalem: also notes of the anarchy of Stephen's reign (fol. 112^v) and of the origin of the Carmelites (fol. 113).

5. (Foll. 115-128^v.) Short pieces relating to the Carmelites by *Johannes Grossus* and John Bacon or Baconthorpe, followed by a chronicle to 1298 and (fol. 126) brief fifteenth century annals.

6. (Foll. 129-141.) The *Fundacio abbathe de Kirkstall*, hence printed for the Thoresby Society, *Miscellanea* IV., p. 169 ff. At fol. 138 is the obit of Richard de Lacy, incorrectly given.²

Through these six MSS. can be traced a "back-hand" with strongly marked characteristics. It occurs in no. 2 (fol. 74-75) in marginalia; in the Lacy genealogy in no. 3 (fol. 97^v-98^v); in a note on fol. 113 in no. 4; at fol. 126-6^v in no. 5; and at fol. 138^v in no. 6. Since this hand occurs in no. 6 it is undoubtedly that of a Kirkstall scribe, and therefore all the MSS. contained in the volume belonged to Kirkstall.

The Laud MS. is thus of interest not only because it provides another example of an early fifteenth century Cistercian Chronicle and because of the marked interest in the Carmelites, but because of certain peculiarities in the make-up of the volume itself. A close examination shows that at one point (after fol. 111) it lacks a gathering and a half.³ Now three of Dodsworth's identifications have already proved correct. The Kirkstall MSS. once in the possession of Folkingham are all in the same volume. His fourth Kirkstall MS., the one printed below, might reasonably have been looked for in the same place. It does in fact fit the gap. It seems almost certain that eleven of the missing folios are those upon which our chronicle is written. The breadth of the leaves is just that of two folios of the Laud MS. which through being folded at the edges have fortunately escaped clipping. The number of lines to the page in our chronicle falls within the same limits as those in this section of the Laud MS. The strayed fragment and

¹ See Note A, *infra*, p. 118.

² For the incunabula see Proctor, no. 1114, printed by Nicholas Gotz at Cologne, 1474-1480; and no. 7988, printed by Gui Marchard at Paris, 1493-1494.

³ Foll. 112, 113 have been inserted since the original mutilation.

fol. 44-49 in no. 2 of the Laud MS. have, as watermarks, two keys crossed, and this points to papers of about 1413-1458. That the two chronicles should be written on similar papers, the earlier MS. carrying a slightly less developed form of the watermark associated with MSS. of before 1430,¹ though in no way decisive, supports the conclusion that both belonged to and were written at Kirkstall abbey.²

The chronicle was probably written in the first quarter of the fifteenth century, but after 1405.³ Though written throughout in a small Bastard hand, and probably to dictation, it is only a draft,⁴ and obviously composite. It is full of errors, erasures and corrections: in places the text yields no sense. The MS. is the work of a scribe who could not read what he was copying, or who did not fully understand what was said. Constant mistakes of the ear and mixed constructions, though inconclusive, suggest dictation.⁵ Each year is ticked off in the margin with an accountant's tick. Possibly a professional scribe, who would write up the annual accounts, was called in for the chronicle. Marginalia and footnotes for insertion in the text, beside the appearance upon the last page of a revised form of some of the earlier entries, all suggest that this was not the author's last word. He has marked with crosses entries which for one reason or another he may have wished to revise.⁶

Beneath this draft lay a chronicle which alludes to no date after February, 1400, and which seems to have been composed in part shortly before and in part shortly after the deposition of Richard II. It seems probable that this differed little from the MS. here considered.

¹C. M. Briquet, *Les Filigranes* (1907), nos. 3864, 3868. The papers were probably manufactured in Piedmont.

²These are therefore the only Kirkstall chronicles now known to exist. Neither of the chronicles in Cott. MS. Dom. A. XII, came from Kirkstall. Both are northern, and the second probably originated at Stanlawe.

³The note of the fire at S. Mary's, York, in 1376, seems to have been incorporated in this chronicle from Laud MS. 722, fol. 126, where it occurs in a series of notes written after 1405.

⁴Dr. H. H. E. Craster, to whom we are indebted for help in establishing the text, points out that the general appearance of the MS. is similar to that of prior Wessington's *Historia Dunelmensis*, for which see *E.H.R.* (October, 1925), p. 509.

⁵E.g. *c* for *s*, *cotul* for *cedul*, *mantato* for *mandato*, *sub tali cum condicione*.

⁶There are fourteen of these crosses, all of them pointing to events which would be of more especial interest to northerners.

The years are frequently out of sequence, and there is a double system of dating. Some of them are given *anno domini* simply, others with the addition of the regnal year, though not always correctly. It is found that the former constitute a separate class and are derived from a chronicle based primarily upon Franciscan obits, 1231-1385.¹ This chronicle, which must itself have been based upon an Italian source, might have been obtained by Kirkstall from the Grey Friars of Doncaster, where the abbey had lands. The entries, so far as they are represented in the Kirkstall chronicle, consisted of little more than the obit and brief personal estimates, adding nothing to general history.

From the accession of Richard II the chronicle is printed in full. The earlier material, being only occasionally of any interest, will be sufficiently represented by the following excerpts :

Anno gracie [1231] idibus Junii obiit sanctus Antonius de ordine fratrum minorum et eodem anno in die Pent' sequente, a domino Gregorio papa nono anno sui pontificatus 6 cum maximis solempnitatibus canonizatus : cuius corpus in solempni monasterio hic² eius honori constructo provincie Hispanie honorifice tumulatur.

Anno gracie 1357 et regis Edwardi 31. . . . Summa redempcionis [Johannis] regis Francie se extendit ad tria milia milium librarum auri. Item nota quod post solucionem mediatatis redempcionis regis Francie, tanta fuit copia auri in Anglia quod mercenarii et communitas emencium et vendencium in nundinis et foris libenter commutarent unum nobile pro 6s. 10d.³ de argento cum tamen unum nobile 4 denarics excedit amplius in valore.⁴

¹ The last Franciscan entry in point of time concerns the death of Joan, queen of Scotland : the last, in the order of their occurrence, is on p. 21 and concerns William de Apilton. Besides those here printed two others will be noticed at pp. 123, 124, *infra*.

² MS. *ñ*, which seems to prove an ultimate Paduan source. Saint Antony of Padua was canonised in 1232 (Lepitre, *Vie de S. Antoine*) and was buried at Padua (Muratori, *Rer. Ital. Script.*, VIII, col. 202).

³ MS. 6s. Xd., *recte* 6s. 4d. The confusion proves a written original in which the *compiler* read a badly-written Arabic *×* as a Roman X.

⁴ This observation is found in no other chronicle, but traces of monetary dislocation, and of disturbance of the ratio between gold and silver can be found in the Parliament Rolls (II, 271 *seq.*). By the Treaty of Bretigni John of France was pledged to pay a ransom of 3,000,000 gold crowns (each worth one noble English (6/8)). Less than half was ever paid. The chronicler probably refers specifically to the year 1364 when the coinage of £47,197 3s. 11d., the fruits of two large payments, was completed at one time (Devon. *Issues*, 181-2). Thereafter less than 200,000 crowns were received in all towards the rest of the debt (Rymer, VI, *passim*). About the

Anno gracie 1358¹ obiit senerissimus (*sic*) memorie domina Isabella filia regis Francie et mater domini Edwardi Tertii. . . . Hec venerabilis regina precipua mater et protectrix ordinis fratrum minorum semper extitit dum vexerat (*sic*) hic in terris.² Cuius corpus in choro fratrum minorum London' multum sumptuose et splendide tumulatur.

Anno gracie 1362 venerabilis reminiscencie domina Johanna regina Scocie sororque regis Anglie Edwardi tertii viam universe carnis intravit, cuius corpus inter fratres minorum London' in choro sepelitur ad caput tumuli sue matris.³

This Franciscan source had possibly a connection with that underlying the *Anonimale Chronicle*. The account of the Peasants' Revolt might well be a compression from such source. Other points of comparison will be noticed, but the basis for comparison is slight.

By the side of the Minorite chronicle the compiler had also a few documents, such as a Poitiers news-letter, an account of the questions to the judges at the council of Nottingham, the formal abdication of Richard II, and the claim of Henry IV.⁴

The last and most important source is the author's personal knowledge of the turbulent age in which he lived. His life and character are alike unknown: he steps forward only to claim a special knowledge of unilluminating prodigies. He was well acquainted with the

same time (1360-1364) gold was coming in from two other sources—payments made for a truce by the duke of Burgundy (at least £30,000), and the ransom of David Bruce, king of Scotland, of which 30,000 marks (£20,000) had been paid 1358-1360, and of which a fairly regular annual payment of 4000 marks began again in 1366 (Rymer, VI, and *Cal. Docs. Scot.*, IV, *passim*). If ransoms of individual prisoners of war are taken into account, it is clear that the influx of gold was sudden and important enough to upset the standard of English bimetalism. This appears to have been the first serious disturbance of the ratio established in 1351 (Hughes, Crump and Johnson "Debasement of the Coinage under Edward III," *Ec. Jor.*, VII), but stability seems never to have been recovered. From this time on there appears, added to the other monetary difficulties of the fourteenth century, the more or less permanent overvaluation of gold, noted by the moneyer of Richard II in 1381—*que l'or n'accorde pas avec l'argent* (*Rot. Parl.*, III, 126). We are indebted to Miss L. S. Sutherland, of Somerville College, for the information contained in this note.

¹ August 22.

² For her lavish benefactions see, e.g., *V.C.H. Yorks.*, iii, 288-289, and Little, *Greyfriars of London*, pp. 5, 36, 38, 74, etc.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 75.

⁴ For the story of the four friars, probably from a separate document, see Note B, *infra*, p. 118.

fasting paralytic, Thomas Sampson of Leeds, who (as he seems to suggest) was dead by 1380.¹ He was at Silver Stone, co. Northants., in 1372.² He meets people who had seen the amazing "mersquin vel asquwine" coming in from sea near Guisborough, and reports a hail-storm of unheard-of violence at Stilton. From these trivialities we may deduce his age and the probable date of composition. He was not a young man in 1400, but the events of thirty years ago were fresh in his mind, more so perhaps than the happenings of his middle years, for after Poitiers he never mentions the king who ruled so long, except to use his name and regnal years as a somewhat shaky prop for his narrative.

The writer was not limited to his personal experience for his account of political events.³ He and his brethren did not live in isolation, for though the abbey demesnes were for the most part clustered round Leeds, with outlying lands in Lancashire,⁴ there were important tenements in and near Doncaster, an inn and other property at Pontefract,⁵ and four messuages at York.⁶ Collection of rents, view and audit of accounts, and holding of courts, meant constant travelling, the pursuit of stolen sheep might lead them into other counties,⁷ and sale of the wool which meant poverty or ease would take them regularly to York. When the *compiler* describes Peter de Bucton as *probus homo* he was appraising a man of whom he must have had personal knowledge.⁸ His account of the conspiracy of 1400 is sufficiently impartial when we remember that the monks were tenants of Thomas, earl of Kent.⁹

As the reign of Richard II advances the narrative becomes progressively more continuous and full. The somewhat rhetorical turn of

¹ We cannot, however, press this tissue of fabulous inconsistencies.

² *Anno gracie 1372 et regis Edwardi tertii* (blank in MS.) *ego huius cronice compiler recordor me vidisse in villa de Silverstone de comitatu Northamtone.* . . .

³ For the map facing this page we should like to thank Miss K. M. Walker of Somerville. It will be noted that the place-names, particularly near Leeds, are, unless otherwise stated, those of vills where Kirkstall had property.

⁴ *Kirkstall Coucher* (Thoresby Soc.), p. x.

⁵ Turner and Coxe, *Calendar of Charters and Rolls*, pp. 614-617.

⁶ *Cal. Pat. R.*, 1391-1396, pp. 43, 189.

⁷ *Ib.*, p. 263 (May 9, 1393). "Thomas, servant of the abbot of Cristall," captured a thief with 29 stolen sheep worth 28s. at Myne, co. Notts.

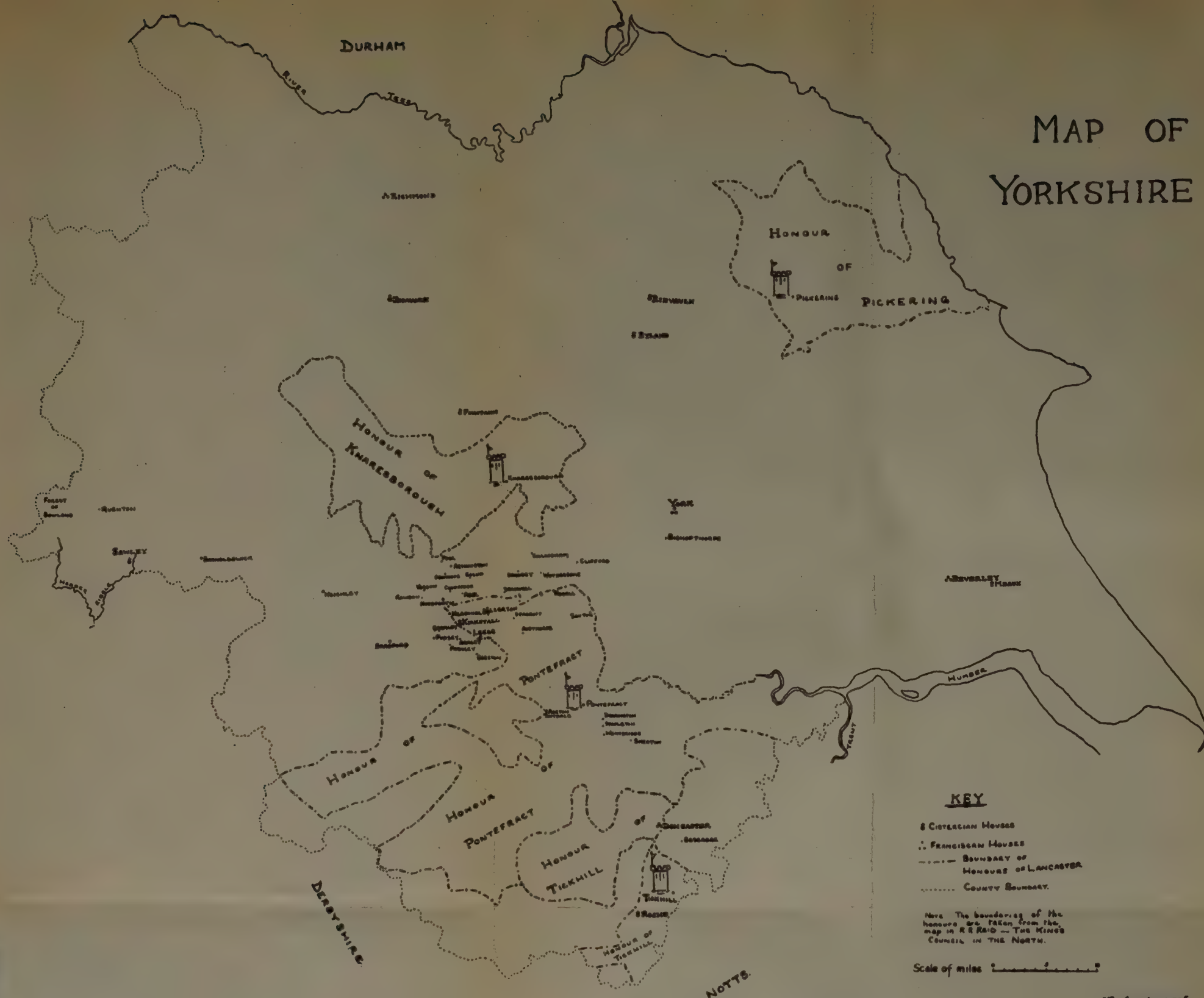
⁸ *E.g. Cal. Cl. R.*, 1396-1399, p. 260.

⁹ *Ib.*

MAP OF YORKSHIRE

WESTMORLAND

LANCASHIRE



KEY

- ⊞ CISTERCIAN HOUSES
- ⊞ FRANCISCAN HOUSES
- — — — — BOUNDARY OF HONOURS OF LANCASTER
- COUNTY BOUNDARY

Note: The boundaries of the honours are taken from the map in R. S. R. 100 — THE KING'S COUNCIL IN THE NORTH.

Scale of miles 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

phrase is no longer reserved for monsters or natural phenomena, but is applied to contemporaries. Under the year 1385 the writer definitely postulates a knowledge of events in August, 1394. His narrative becomes more accurate, though for the last year he finds it is all so recent that dates are unnecessary. The omission of any allusion to the canonisation, of prior Thweng of Bridlington, in whom he displays much interest, makes it probable that that event had not yet taken place, and that the work was therefore finished before September 21, 1401.

The style in which the last page is written is more florid than the rest, and the repetition of earlier material in a revised form indicates that the author meant to insert this section as a dramatic introduction to the reign of Richard II. His ideas of literary composition had no doubt developed as he wrote, and his pen was now moving more freely. There can be little doubt that the quotation from S. Luke on the previous page, his final judgement upon Richard, is the author's final bow. He had reached contemporary events : there was nothing left to do but to revise what he had already said.

The direct historical value of the Chronicle is limited almost entirely to that portion which was written at Kirkstall at the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth centuries. The author's interest is concentrated on two periods of Richard II's reign, 1387-1388 and 1397-1399, and his original idea was probably to balance the story of Richard's revenge against the victory of the Appellants. Although his account of the years 1387-1388 is brief, he has used his material skilfully to emphasise his conclusion. He must have been aware of the action of Parliament in 1386 when de la Pole was impeached and the Commission Council was set up, but he chose the Council of Nottingham as his point of departure in order to set out Richard's theory of government through the questions put to the judges. He describes how the baronial leaders at once recognised that they were, by implication, accused of treason and how by defeating the royalist army at Radcot Bridge they were able to force submission to the judgements of the Merciless Parliament. More space is given up to the fate of the judges than in any other chronicle, and emphasis is laid more than once on Richard's resistance to the sentences of exile

and death.¹ The conclusion is moderate; the Parliament was an instrument for the torture of some who deserved it and of others who were innocent.² Then after a short interval follows the account of the Revenge Parliament of 1397-1398, and again the writer's interpretation of events is clearly outlined. Richard with marvellous and long-lasting patience (*admirabilis et diuturna paciencia*), was determined to avenge the wrongs done in 1388 and to bring England under his own control. His vengeance is shown as no sudden impulse nor as the frenzy of a madman, as some modern historians suggest, but as a calculated plan deliberately acted upon when the time was ripe. The chronicler has no pity for the victims. Arundel fitly perished on the very spot where Burley had suffered, and of Gloucester it is grimly said that he could not appear in Parliament because he had gone to a higher court before the Supreme Judge. He concludes with a grandiloquent sentence comparing Richard to the sun in splendour rejoicing to run his course; at last he has dispersed his clouds of enemies and has let his light shine forth.

At this point the narrative is broken, the chronology becomes confused and after a fresh start, going back to Arundel's translation from York to Canterbury in 1396, the events of the last few years are told with a new reticence. There is no marked change in style. The same writer was at work, but he now knew the end of the story and walked delicately in fear of those in high places. Henry of Lancaster, Archbishop Arundel and his brother are styled *venerabilis*, an epithet of honour applied hitherto only to the Black Prince and to Percy, Norfolk becomes *horrificus* and Warwick the "noble earl." The sequence of events is skilfully set out with scarcely a single comment, though the adjective *admirabilem* is let slip for Richard's renunciation of the crown. At the end, accounting for the revolution, he tries to sum up on the winning side, but he can do no better than bring out the trite comparison of Richard to Rehoboam, who forsook the counsel of the old men and consulted with the young men who had

¹ *Infra*, p. 126, " . . . de assensu regis spontaneo non prodierat . . . "; p. 128, the death of Burley was " contra voluntatem regis."

² *Infra*, p. 128. The passage is marked in the margin by C, for *cave*. The moderation was, perhaps, partly because Derby was one of the Appellants. Kirkstall lay in the Lancastrian honour of Pontefract and Gaunt was a patron of the abbey, e.g. *Cal. Papal Letters*, V, p. 16.

grown up with him.¹ The repercussion of events on the Monastic scriptorium is plainly illustrated. As in other houses, notably at Dieulacres, St. Albans and at Leicester,² the Monks of Kirkstall found it hard to trim their prejudices quickly enough to meet the shifting fortunes of the age. Their clumsy efforts are so patent that the date of composition becomes clear. We cannot doubt that the Kirkstall Chronicle was written in two sections: the first shortly before Richard's fall and the second within a year or two of Henry's Coronation.

The chronicler's attention was turned to the general history of his time, but he was too far away from London and the court to have detailed knowledge of affairs, and his emphasis has more value than his information. Archbishop Arundel, twice styled *principalis regis consiliarius*, was accused at his trial of revealing the king's privy counsel to his brother.³ When Richard rode to Plesshy to arrest Gloucester he first commended London to the custody of the mayor and citizens.⁴ Deserters swarmed from Bristol castle through doors and windows and down ropes from the walls.⁵ Bolingbroke's northern itinerary after the landing at Ravenspur is clearly outlined; though this has long been in print from Dodsworth's transcript it is satisfactory to know from what source it was derived.⁶ There is disappointingly little further detail for Yorkshire history. No doubt the writer had knowledge of what befell Richard when Bucton brought him to the county, but beyond the fact that a month was spent at Knaresborough before the removal to Pontefract he is too cautious to write more than "in quadam turre castelli . . . solitare inclusi et qualiter ibidem mortui deus novit. . . ."⁷

¹ Cf. the same comparison in the chronicle of Louth Park, another Cistercian house (edited by Rev. Edm. Venables, Lincolnshire Record Society, 1891), p. 41, *sub anno*, 1377.

² In the Dieulacres Chronicle the break comes in 1399; two writers were at work, and the second blames his predecessor because "*vituperat commendanda et commendat vituperanda*" (published *supra*, Vol. 14, No. 1, Jan., 1930). At St. Albans the *Chronicon Angliæ* was drastically revised before it was incorporated into the *Historia Anglicana* of Walsingham. The continuator of Knighton's Chronicle wrote with enthusiasm for the king's opponents in 1386-1387, but, suddenly changing his tone, he became reticent and commonplace when Gaunt, the patron of Leicester abbey, returned from Spain, in 1389.

³ *Infra*, p. 127.

⁴ *Infra*, p. 129.

⁵ *Infra*, p. 133.

⁶ *Vide*, n. 3, *infra*, p. 132.

⁷ *Infra*, p. 135.

The sentences that precede the account of Bolingbroke's landing are, perhaps, of greater interest than any other passage in the chronicle,¹ for they throw a light back on the last and most dangerous phase of Richard's new policy. We are told that the Regency Council, acting on royal authority, proclaimed throughout England certain statutes of the last Parliament and the sentences of banishment passed on Hereford and Norfolk. Up to that time these statutes had not been generally known.² Also, all men of property, both clerk and lay, were compelled to pledge their goods and their bodies in defence of the statutes and to ratify the oath under their seals. While this business was pending and before it was fully carried out, Bolingbroke landed at Ravenspur. Here we have definite information about the special activities of the Regency, a matter hitherto obscure. Though we cannot accept it exactly as it stands, with its help it becomes possible to trace the final stages of Richard's subtle manoeuvres for security and power. Essentially the same story appears in the Dieulacres Chronicle with significant variations.³ When Richard sailed for Ireland Bolingbroke's perpetual banishment was proclaimed,⁴ and all laymen and clerks were forced to set their seals to blank charters and to swear to keep what would be written on them.⁵ Hence ill rumours of hard bondage in days to come spread among the people. These two passages from independent, though kindred, writers are enough to show that up to the very day of Henry's landing the king's ministers were busying themselves in enforcing a policy which roused suspicion and alarm throughout the realm. It remains to discover what this policy was and to give a meaning to the tangled stories of blank charters and forced oaths.

The elaborate and various devices which Richard used to secure his victory were probably far more unpopular than the victory itself.

¹ *Infra*, p. 132.

² Cf. *infra*, p. 132, "statuta fuerunt ordinata set minime promulgata." As we shall see, there can be no doubt that the statutes were already generally known.

³ *Ut supra*, p. 109. As in the Kirkstall Chronicle, the passage immediately follows the statement that Richard sailed to Ireland.

⁴ This, no doubt, was the popular, and not unnatural, interpretation of the revocation of the letters of attorney (cf. *Annales*, p. 232).

⁵ " . . . feceruntque albas cartas per omnes comitatus regni sigillari . . . et omnes iurare fideliter observare que in eis scribenda forent. . . ."

Oath after oath was imposed upon his subjects, binding them to maintain the statutes and judgements of the Parliament of 1397-1398. The first oaths were sworn on September 30, 1397. Prelates and lords swore one by one on the shrine of St. Edward at Westminster, and the knights of the shire gave their promises together, holding up their right hands as a sign of consent. Before the high altar sentence of excommunication was passed against contrariants.¹ At the Shrewsbury session the prelates and lords renewed their oaths, this time on the cross of Canterbury; the commons, clerical proctors and knights standing round the king swore with right hands raised;² the king gave notice that he was writing to Italy to procure papal sanction for the decree of excommunication.³ When the parliamentary committee met in March, 1398, the form of oath was enlarged to include a pledge to maintain the statutes and ordinances "made after the Parliament by its authority."⁴ Finally, when a year later the letters of attorney granted to Hereford and Norfolk were revoked, eighteen prelates, sixteen peers and four commoners renewed their oaths on the cross of Canterbury, with an addition covering the sentences of banishment and other acts of the committee.⁵ Not content with these public and official acts of obligation, the king issued writs demanding special pledges from all his subjects. At least one copy of the writ is extant.⁶ It is addressed to the bishop of Norwich, and enjoins him

¹ *Rot. Parl.*, III, pp. 355-356.

² *Ib.*, p. 359. Jan. 30, 1398. The earl of March, at the request of the Commons, took the oath on January 28, probably because he had not sworn at Westminster. The second series of oaths was imposed after an enquiry into the best means by which the statutes and judgements of Parliament might be secured. The king asked the advice of "toutz l'estatz du Parlement." The judges and king's sergeants answered that "le pluis greindre seuretee que poet estre, est ceo q'est establiz, ordeinez et affermez par Parlement," but they also advised the renewal of oaths.

³ *Ib.*, pp. 359-360. The statement that the Commons accepted this proposal with acclamation occurs only on that copy of the parliament roll (57) which Mr. Edwards has shown was "an altered version drawn up at some date (probably soon after) 18 March, 1399" (*E.H.R.*, Vol. XL, July, 1925, pp. 324-325). The message to the Pope was the basis of the tenth article of deposition (*Rot. Parl.*, III, p. 419).

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 372.

⁵ *Ib.*, pp. 372-373. March 18, 1399. The commons present, other than those who had already sworn, assented by raising their right hands.

⁶ Register of William Curteys, abbot of Bury St. Edmund's, 1429-1446. British Museum, Additional MS. 7096, ff. 165v-166. Cf. the transcript in Bodley MS., Tanner 342, f. 193. Printed in Note C, *infra*, p. 119.

to assemble all the clergy of his diocese, and have them swear to maintain the statutes and judgements of the last Parliament and of its committee; in proof of their undertaking their seals were to be set to a form of oath set out in a schedule annexed. The imposition of this oath was denounced in the articles of Deposition as "juramenta . . . odiosa . . . verisimiliter causare possent destructionem finalem populi."¹

More formidable than these enforced oaths was the wholesale proscription subtly concealed in the general pardon issued on the last day of the Shrewsbury session. The Commons had asked the king for a general pardon in return for a grant of supply.² The pardon was issued with a specific exception of all who "chivacherent et soy leverent forciblement encontre le Roy" with the appellants in 1387-1388. Such persons must seek for special charters of pardon before 24 June, 1398.³ An entry on the Close Rolls, dated 27 February, 1399, shows that, though the general pardon was renewed, those who had followed the Appellants at Haringey and Radcot Bridge were still reserved for special treatment.⁴ It is startling to discover that the exception was interpreted to cover the seventeen counties who had supported his enemies in 1387. More than half the population of England was thus proscribed merely for failure to show "constant good affection" to the king.⁵

The charge was plainly put in the twenty-first article of deposition.⁶ The king had forced the people of seventeen counties to submit themselves to him like traitors (*tanquam proditores*), and by this means he extorted great fines to recover his pleasure. Though he restored the letters of submission, their proctors, who had been given plenary powers to act for them, were constrained to bind themselves under their seals in the name of the people. The substantial accuracy

¹ *Rot. Parl.*, III, p. 421.

² *Ib.*, 359. At the opening of Parliament, Sept., 1397, a general pardon had been promised to all subjects except fifty persons, named by the king, and those impeached in Parliament (*Ib.*, 347).

³ *Ib.*, p. 369.

⁴ *Ib.*, 410; from the Close Roll. The excepted persons are styled "illos qui in comitiva dominorum nuper apud Haringey et Rodcotbrig contra eorum ligeancium ad invicem congregatorum extiterunt." Cf. *Annales*, p. 225.

⁵ The phrase was used to justify the Cromwellian plantation of Ireland.

⁶ *Rot. Parl.*, III, p. 420.

of the accusation is established by a remarkable document, which has not hitherto been printed.¹ It is a servile petition to the king from London and the counties of south eastern England from Norfolk to Wiltshire—seventeen in all, if London is included. They acknowledge the misdeeds and evil imaginings of certain of their number, admit that they have deserved “punissement assez cruel” and promise to do, endure and obey whatsoever the king may impose upon them. To this end sufficient persons were appointed from London and from each shire to go before the king to take the oath and to do whatever else was necessary on their behalf. That each of the seventeen groups negotiated separately is shown by an English version of the same petition drawn up for London only.² The “sufficient persons” of the petition are obviously the same as the proctors of the article of deposition. The price they paid for buying back the royal pleasure is said to have been £1000 or 1000 marks for each shire.³ The legal basis for the whole proceedings was probably an assumption that in 1387 the petitioners had concealed knowledge of treasonable intent.⁴ Such knowledge was a species of contempt, punishable at law; it could be purged by confession and making fine with the king.⁵ Reviving and developing the policy expressed in his questions to the judges at Nottingham, Richard was stretching the statute of treason to coerce his subjects wholesale.

So far all is reasonably clear. The difficulty arises over the

¹ Letter Book, All Souls Library, MS. 182, ff. 193v-194. The full text of the petition is printed in Note D, *infra*, pp. 120-1.

² *Chronicle of London, 1089-1483*, ed. Nicolas, London, 1827, Note X, pp. 155-156. From Cotton MS. Julius, B 1, ff. 32v-33v. The printed text is corrupt in parts. The names of the counties are not given, and the only additions are the names of the persons appointed to act for the city—Walden, archbishop of Canterbury, Braybrooke, bishop of London and Richard Whittington, Mayor—and the names of some of those who sealed the petition—the archbishop, Braybroke, Whittington, William Askcham and John Wodok.

³ *Evesham*, p. 147; *Annales*, p. 235. London paid £1000, *London Chronicle*, *supra*, p. 83. The fines were known as *le Plesaunce*, because they bought back the king's pleasure.

⁴ The four points of treason defined in Parliament on 20 September, 1397, were: to compass and design to slay the king, to depose him, to withdraw homage from him, to raise his subjects and ride against him in war (*R.P.*, III, p. 351).

⁵ Holdsworth, *History of English Law*, III, 373; 388-393.

charters, blank and sealed (*albae cartae*), to which many of the chroniclers refer, though always in some confusion. On the face of it they were not either the oaths sworn and ratified under seal or the sealed confessions and petitions for pardon carried by the proctors or "sufficient persons" to the king. Yet they were obviously confused and associated with both these classes of documents. In the Bury Register the royal letter to the bishop of Norwich has a title of a later date: "Breve regis Ricardi secundi transmissum episcopo Norwicensis precipiens sibi quatinus oneraret omnes prelatos sue diocesis iureiurando et quod sigillarent quasdam cartas-albas que postmodum fuerunt causa destrucionis ipsius regis."¹ This description cannot be correct because the document ordered to be sealed was not *alba* or blank, but "quandam cedula[m] formam sacramenti." Again, in the *London Chronicle* it is said that "be selyng of blank chartres the city of London pai[ed] to the king M^l livres and other schires as they myghte beren."² Here the reference is plainly to the confessions and petitions with which fines were paid. That *alba* or *blank* does not bear a peculiar meaning is made clear by the use of the phrase *cartas non scriptas* in one version of the Evesham Chronicle.³

In the continuation of the *Eulogium* we have the definite statement that, after the imposition of the oaths was ordained, the king and the parliamentary committee (*cum compromisso parlamento*) decreed that prelates, lords and all the commons in cities and towns should set their seals to blank charters. It was said that the king intended to write on them this sentence: "because in time past we have grievously offended your majesty we give up ourselves and all our goods to your pleasure" (*ad libitum vestrae voluntatis*).⁴ By itself this evidence is not decisive, as the continuation is frequently inaccurate and bears signs of later interpolation.⁵ However, the treatment of blank charters in a separate category is confirmed by the official records. In the first

¹ Note C, p. 119. ² *Ut supra*, p. 83. ³ Sloane MS., 1776, f. 26.

⁴ *Eulogium*, III, p. 378. An English version of the same story appears in *Davies Chronicle*, Camden Society, pp. 13-14. It was also rumoured that, by means of the blank charters, Richard intended to convince the king of France that he had the consent of his subjects for the sale of Calais and other lands in France (*Annales*, p. 236).

⁵ For example the statement that Richard recognised the earl of March as his heir in 1385, which was obviously inserted under Yorkist influence (*Eulogium*, III, p. 361).

Parliament of Henry IV, at the request of the Commons, the blank charters and miscellaneous documents which Richard had exacted from London and seventeen counties were declared null and void.¹ In the following month orders were issued for their public destruction, and a distinction was clearly drawn between the pledges for the keeping of statutes and ordinances and the *raggemens* or *blaunk chartres* by which London and divers counties, cities and boroughs acknowledged their guilt and submitted to the king's grace.² It is still not absolutely clear that the blank charters were distinct from the confessions and petitions of grace, as the same description of the contents would apply to both sets of documents. This last difficulty is resolved in the twenty-first article of deposition by the statement that the king gave back the letters of submission presented by the seventeen counties, but he coerced the proctors to bind themselves under their seals in the name of the people.³ In the *Annales*, which for the last years of the reign is a running commentary on the articles of deposition, we are told that the letters of submission were returned when Richard was setting out for Ireland because he wished to placate the counties. The fact that the confessions or letters of submission were returned explains why there was no order for their destruction. We cannot, therefore, doubt that Richard exacted three distinct categories of bond from his subjects in the last years of his reign: the oath to maintain the statutes and judgements of the last Parliament and its committee; the confessions of treasonable intent and petitions for pardon; the blank charters sealed by the proctors of the counties in which no man knew for certain what was to be written.⁴

¹ " . . . diverses escriptz et blanches chartres" (*Rot. Parl.*, III, p. 426, 15 October, 1399).

² November 30, 1399. *Rymer*, VIII, p. 109; *Cal. Close Rolls*, p. 57. Ramsay (*Genesis of Lancaster*, II, p. 344, note 3) says that a bundle of these blank charters is preserved in the Record Office, Treasury of Receipts, Miscell. 15/7. Tout (*Chapters in Mediaeval Administrative History*, Vol. IV, p. 48, note 3) points out that the bundle, in the modern classification *Exchequer, Treasury of Receipt, E. 34/1: Privy Seals and Letters Patent for Loans*, contains no "blank" charters but "numerous indentures between individuals and royal agents . . . covenanting to lend the king money." These loans from individuals were exacted in 1397 and 1398. Tout seems to confound them with the fines for pardon paid by London and the shires.

³ *Rot. Parl.*, III, p. 420.

⁴ *Annales*, p. 235. "Expost vero, profecturus in Hiberniam, placere volens personis eorundem comitatum, fecit illis restitui litteras suas obligatorias,

In order to understand the cumulative effect of this policy, it is necessary to set out the order of events. According to the chronicles, the decision to exact oaths and to terrorise the counties into submission was taken either at a Council at Nottingham on June 24, 1398,¹ or in the autumn after the dukes had been banished.² Probably the matter was discussed at more than one session.³ June 24 was the last day for those excepted from the general pardon to ask for special terms, and it may have been found at the Council of Nottingham that few persons or districts recognised that they were required to take special action.⁴ About this time Richard is said to have complained that he was afraid to travel in the seventeen counties round London because of the sympathy there for the Appellants; his itinerary shows that throughout 1398 he spent nearly all his time in the Midlands and the West.⁵ The final decision to terrorise London and the shires may have been taken at the end of September, soon after the banishment of Hereford and Norfolk. Neither the general petition nor that of London bears a date, but Whittington's title of mayor shows that the London document must have been drawn up before October 13, 1397, when he ceased to hold office.⁶ Probably the policy was enforced only by degrees. The reiterated exclusion of the Appellants' supporters from the general pardon may have been issued on February 27, 1398, in order to force all who were holding back to make submission. In the same month (February 8), the letter demanding oaths from the

vel submissorias; non tamen eo pacto ut liberarentur ab obligationibus quibus se obligaverunt; quia coegit ipsius populi procuratores, habentes plenam potestatem eis concessam per communitates dictorum comitatum, se obligare, et haeredes suos, sibi, sub sigillis eorundem, nomine et auctoritate populi supradicti."

¹ *Eulogium*, III, p. 378. A note in the minutes of the Council of June 4 states that a Council meeting would be held at Nottingham on June 24. Nicholas, *Proceedings*, I, 81.

² *Evesham*, pp. 146-147.

³ Essex and Hertfordshire evidently had special treatment as they began to compound for pardon as early as the end of 1397. A commission to treat with them and to accept a fine of £2000 was issued on Dec. 20, 1397 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, pp. 311-312; *Continuation of Croyland*, p. 413). Cf. the forced loans described by Tout, *Chapters in Administrative History*, IV, p. 47.

⁴ *Evesham*, p. 147; *Eulogium*, III, p. 378.

⁵ Tout, *ut supra*, IV, pp. 33-35. Cf. *Evesham*, p. 145.

⁶ *Calendar of the Letter Book H.*, p. 444.

clergy of Norwich was sent to the bishop, and we may assume that like orders were sent to other districts at the same time.¹ On March 18 the parliamentary committee revoked the letters of attorney granted to the banished dukes and new oaths were exacted.² In Easter week (April 27 to May 3) papal letters ratifying the excommunication of contrariants were published at S. Pauls and S. Mary Spittal.³ By this time the preparations for the Irish expedition were well under way and the letters of submission were given back to those who had sued and made fine for pardon. Richard sailed for Ireland at the end of May,⁴ leaving the Regency in the feeble hands of York. By combining the narratives of Kirkstall and Dieulacres we find that he left orders that the revocation of the duke's letters of attorney should be proclaimed, that new oaths should be exacted and that the proctors of the counties should be compelled to seal blank charters. His last actions in England as unchallenged king confirm the harsh judgement of the *Annales* that he was always thinking by what bargain he could ensnare his subjects so that they would never again return to their former liberty.⁵ It is possible that he left England when he did partly to avoid a storm of resentment and that he meant to use the curialists, Scrope, Bushey, Bagot, and Grene as his scapegoats. The demand in Parliament for the destruction of the charters proves that they had begun to come into Chancery before the beginning of July, and suggests that the king's instructions were carried out with zeal. Henry landed on July 4, just at the time when alarm and anger at a long drawn-out policy of harrying had reached its height. It is not surprising that his army grew from day to day like the sand of the sea⁶ and that throughout all the south-eastern counties none

¹ The Norwich letter refers to oaths already taken by Drugo Barentyn, mayor of London, and the aldermen of citizens. Barantyn succeeded Whittington as mayor on October 13, 1398 (*Cal. Letter Book H.*, *ut supra*).

² *Rot. Parl.*, III, pp. 372-373.

³ *London Chronicle*, *ut supra*, pp. 82-3. The papal letters were dated Jan. 16, 1399: they confirmed the excommunication issued by the king "with the consent of the prelates, nobles, magnates, cities and other commons of the realm in royal parliaments and other congregations held at London, Shrewsbury and Coventry" (*Cal. Papal Letters*, Vol. V, p. 259).

⁴ He was at Milford Haven on May 27, *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, p. 574.

⁵ *Annales*, p. 235.

⁶ *Dieulacres Chronicle*, p. 49, " . . . exercitus velut arena maris in dies crescebat."

were loyal to Richard. The oaths, the crooked pardon, the forced confession and the blank charters must have drawn far more recruits to Bolingbroke than his own wrongs or fear of a theoretical absolutism.

NOTE A.

Lacy Genealogies.

The relationship between the various MSS. purporting to give genealogies of the Lacy family is extremely intricate, because, although obviously based on earlier material, no MS. earlier than c. 1420 has yet come to light. A preliminary examination shows that (1) the memorandum in MS. Laud misc. 722, fol. 98 (transcribed in MS. Dodsw. 116, fol. 17) is corrupt, and in this form is printed as part of a Lacy genealogy among the Kirkstall documents in the *Monasticon*, though it reads like a Pontefract compilation; (2) the *Historia Laceiorum* in the *Monasticon* (V, 533) is printed from a corrupt transcript (not by Dodsworth) in MS. Dodsw. 157, fol. 15, although an original and less corrupt MS. of about 1450 is also bound up with the same volume, of which it forms the first four folios; (3) the *Historia Laceiorum* is in part identical with the well-known *Status de Blackburneshire* (for which see *V.C.H. Lancs.*, VI, 355) which came from Whalley abbey. The *Historia* diverges from the *Status* at the words *post conquestum autem in unum dominum omnia redacta sunt*, at which point begins the excerpt in MS. Laud misc. 722, fol. 97^v.

The point of interest that arises is the connection between Whalley and Kirkstall which this seems to indicate.

NOTE B.

The Martyred Friars.

The story of the four friars, who, living in Jerusalem, determined after much meditation to convert the "Cady" and who were consequently burned alive, is already known in three brief versions,¹ all of which agree as to the date (November 11, 1391) against our chronicler (October 11, 1392). The Kirkstall version includes a long sermon delivered to the "Cady," with a brief reply. The names of the four friars, which occur with variants in each of the four versions, are as follows in the Kirkstall version: Nicholaus de Schavonia regni Hungarie, frater Stephanus provincie Janue, frater Deodatus provincie Aquitanie, et frater Petrus de Narbone de provincia provincie. The

¹ *Wadding*, IX, pp. 100, 103-104, and the *Compendium Chronicarum* in *Arch. Franc. Hist.* (1910), III, p. 703. For English pilgrims at this period, who may have brought back this story, see *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1388-1392, index, s.v. pilgrimages; and for a Yorkshire pilgrimage, *Cal. Cl. Rolls*, 1392-1396, p. 523 (December 16, 1386).

ultimate source of the account is here stated plainly, for the narrative concludes thus :

Istorum autem beatorum fratrum testes fuerunt vicecomes de Lahewya de Britannia cum familia, dominus Thomas filius marchionis Salustiarum tunc miles factus cum familia sua, et alii diversi Christiani valentes a longe explorantes perspexerunt et testati sunt ad laudem et gloriam Trinitatis increate cui sit honor et gloria inperpetuum in secula seculorum. Amen.

The Breton viscount is elusive. Thomas, son of Frederick, marquis of Saluzzo, is, however, well known to history. A contemporary describes him as being in 1394 "jeune chevalier . . . environ 30 ans," but the date of his birth is controversial. Against Muletti's suggestion that the marquis was born after 1349 and before 1336-1337,¹ his editor points out that the quotation already given requires a date not earlier than 1361, and that this is incompatible with Thomas as father of Valerano, who was born in 1374.² The explicit statement of our chronicler *tunc miles factus* can only refer to 1391-1392, thus giving a definite and picturesque starting-point for the career of the marquis. This hitherto unknown pilgrimage fills a gap in the life of Thomas,³ and provides a solid background of personal experience to the *Chevalier Errant* which he wrote in Paris about 1395-1397.⁴

NOTE C.

Juramenta odiosa.

[f. 165v] Breve regis Ricardi secundi transmissum episcopo Norwicensis precipiens sibi quatinus oneraret omnes prelatos sue diocesis iureiurando et quod sigillarent quasdam cartas albas que postmodum fuerunt causa destrucionis ipsius regis.

Ricardus dei gratia rex Anglie et Francie et dominus Hibernie venerabili in Christo patri H. eadem gratia episcopo Norwicensis salutem. Cum Drugo Barentyn maior civitatis nostre Londonii ac aldermanni et cives necnon ceteri omnes, eiusdem civitatis ad omnia et singula statuta ordinationes et stabilimenta, in ultimo parlamento nostro apud Westmonasterium tento et usque Salopiam adiornato, edita ordinata et stabilita una cum omnibus iudiciis et ordinationibus apud Coventre virtute et auctoritate eiusdem parlamenti redditus editis atque factis, ac cum omnibus dependenciis et omnibus aliis que inde sequi possunt pro se et successoribus suis singulariter et generaliter bene et fideliter observandum in perpetuum, sacramenta super sacra dei evangelia prestiterint corporalia et pro maiori securitati et veritatis premissorum testimonio ad quandam cedulam formam sacramenti predicte continentem cuius transcriptum vobis mittimus presentibus inclusam sigilla sua apposuerunt. Nos consimilia sacramenta et securitatem de universis et singulis ligiis nostri regni nostri Anglie

¹ Muletti, *Storia di Saluzzo*, vol. 4, p. 187 n., and cf. *Arch. Stor. Ital. Serie*, 5, toma 17, p. 193.

² *Ib.*, p. 216.

³ *Mon. Hist. Pat., Script.*, vol. III, coll. 1037-1039 (A Saluzzo chronicle).

⁴ N. Jorga, *Thomas, III Marquis de Saluces* (Paris, 1893), pp. 38-39.

de statu reputatis habere volentes, vobis mandamus quod [f. 166] statim visis presentibus et inspecto transcripto predicto omnes et singulos abbates priores decanos et archidiaconos de vestra diocese et alias personas ecclesiasticas eiusdem diocesis coram vobis ad certos dies et loca quos ad hoc provideretis infra eandem diocesem cum omnis celeritate et festinatione qua poteritis venire facere et sacramenta huiusmodi ab eisdem abbatibus prioribus decanis archidiaconis et aliis personis ecclesiasticis predictis quod ipsi ac successores sui premissa, modo et forma quibus in dicto breve transcripto sit mentio, conformiter pro parte sua observabunt recipiatis et eiusdem sacramenti formam in cedulam consimilem redigatis prefatosque abbates priores decanos archidiaconos ac alias personas ecclesiasticas eandem cedulam sigillis suis consignari faceretis et cedulam illam, cum sic consignata, fuerit una cum certificatione totius facti vestri in hac parte nobis in cancellariam nostram sub sigillo vestro distincto et aperto sine dilacione mittatis et hoc breve. Teste me ipso apud Westmonasterium viij die Februarii anno regni nostri XXII.

(Additional MS. 7096, f. 165v-166.)

NOTE D.

The Submission of London and Sixteen Counties.

[f. 193, col. 2]. A nostre tresexcellen tresredoubte tressouverein seigneur le Roy treshumblement supplient voz treshumbles liges espirituels et temporels gentils et communes de voz citee de Loundres countees de Kent' Sussex' Surry' Suth' Wiltsh' Oxon' Berk' Bokyngham' Bedf' Huntyngdon' Cantabr' Nortff' Suff' Essex' Herf' et Midd' que come tresgrandes et dolerouses malices mesprisions et malveises coniecturacions dascuns malfaisours de voz ditz citee et contees eient estez procurees faites et perpetres a vostre mageste roiale a tresgrand et perpetuele confusioun et repites¹ des ditz malfaisours et grand vergoine et vilenie de touz lez inhabitants des ditz citee et contees sibien innocentz come des autres, lesquelz malfaisours pur leur demerites ont deserviz punissement assez cruel si la treshaute benignite de vous nostre tresredoubte seigneur replenis de toute grace, vorroit proceder envers eux selonc leur demeritez, que serroit destruccioun de grande multitude de vostre people : y plese a vostre tresexcellente et tresredoubte mageste roiale la tresgrande repentance de les ditz malfaisours et leur tresardant desir qils ont damender, redrescer et en toute manere selonc leur [f. 194, col. 1] petitiz poers reformer, de tant comme ce purra ascunement estre possible, leur excesses folies et defeutes desuznomez, leur reseivre a mercie et grace et de la habundante fontaigne de grace dount vous ad endowez lui tout puissant Roy, exemplair de toute mercie et grace, pardonner entierment et de coer tout qanque devers les ditz malfaisours en leur defaute et les inhabitantz de mesme les citee et countees par cause de eux ad conceu vostre tresexcellente mageste avantdite. Et leur vuillent voz ditz et treshumble lieges souzmettre et leur souzmettent de fet ; de fere porter et obeier tout qanque purra ascunement plere vostre mageste roiale susdite.

¹ MS. *repitef.*

Et en oultre supplient treshumblement voz ditz tres humbles liges que certaines sufficientz gentz de chescune des ditz citee et contees, qore sont presentz devant vostre dite mageste roiale et eslitz et ordeinez par les ditz citee et contees, dount leur nouns severalment desoubz sont escriptz, sufficientement enformez de leur volunteez et aiantz pleine auctoritee et poair depar trestouz voz ditz treshumbles¹ liges, purront estre receux en noun de eux et de chacun de eux et pur leur mesmes, a iurer destre toutdis voz loialx et obeissantz liges a vostre dite mageste et de tenir loialement, garder, observer, loer et maintenir a trestoutz leur poers, sanz fraude ou malengin toutz les estatutz establissementz et juggementz faitz ou renduz en vostre treshaute parlement [f. 194, col. 2] somonz et commencez a Westm' lundy proschein apres la feste de la exaltacione de la seinte croice lan de vostre tresgracious regne vintisme primer et de illoque aiournez a Salop' tanque al quinzisme de saint Hillaire alors proschein suyant et illoque terminez et touz les autres estatutes ordenances et establissementz puis encea faitz par auctoritee de vostre dit parlement sanz iammais venir fere ou procurer rien a lencontre en ascun manere a vivre et morir au fyn qils purront estre mys parmy vostre treshabundante grace, hors de toute suspicioun et estre tenuz come ils desirent sur toute rien voz loialx liges pur dieu et en oeuvre de charitee. En tesmoignance de quele chose et pur icelle bien et loialment garder tenir observer et maintenir purtouz iours a trestouz leur poers a vivre et morir en maner comme desus est dit voz ditz treshumbles liges si bien en noun de touz voz ditz Citee et Countees come de leur mesmes, a ceste supplicacoun ount mys leur sealx. Cestassavoir R. par la grace de dieu ercevesque de Cant', etc.²

THE KIRKSTALL CHRONICLE, 1355-1400.

IN MS. DODSWORTH (BODLEIAN LIBRARY) 140.

[Page 1] . . . Anno gracie 1355 et regis Edwardi tertii 29 anno vir quidam nomine Thomas Sampson in parochia de Ledes Eboracens' dioces' natus et nutritus viribus fortis et vultu decorus areptus fuit a parilus',³ ut dicebatur et deinceps a lumbis eius et deorsum sic claudus effectus est ut lectum proprium suum sua vi non poterat declinare et a lumbis eius usque ad verticem sanus erat sine macula atque morbo, vultusque faciei eius clarus et rubacundus fuerat cum fortitudine brachiorum et valitudine corporali integra remanentes. Tante enim abstinentie vir ille extiterat quod 7 annis continuis

¹ MS. *treshumblement*.

² All Souls College, Oxford, MS. 182, ff. 193v-194. The preface to the *Register of Archbishop Peckham* (ed. C. Trice Martin, 1882), contains a description of the MS., which is a fifteenth century formulary book. Our thanks are due to the Warden and Fellows of All Souls College for leave to publish the document, and to Miss M. K. Pope, of Somerville College, for help with the text.

³ MS. *paribus*.

nullum omnino cibum corporalem aut potum in alimentum corporis sui sumpsit setque cunctis illius patrie incolis de huiusmodi abstinencia admirabili per multos valenciores approbata colloquentibus, rumor facti ad archiepiscopum Ebor' dominum Johannem Thursby pervenit. Cumque precepto sui episcopi predictus Thomas Sampson ad eum delatus fuisset et¹ veritatem illius abstinence veritat' comprobasset, iussit cibos apponi precepitque sibi ut comederet qui vota sui antistitis obediens cibos sumpsit set sine quacunque digestionem corporali et visibili cibi ab eo sumpti totaliter et consumpti atque in huius modi vivendi 7 annis sequentibus supervixit. Et quem ego hic descripsi vidi, sepius et agnovi.

Anno gracie 1379 et regis Ricardi anno 2 in confinibus patrie borial [ibus] qui vocatur Cliffland,² iuxta villam que vocatur Cotum³ super oceam situatam non multum distantem a monasterio canonicorum regularium de Gisbury, quidam delphini vulgariter mersqwin vel asqwine³ nominati numero 6 vel eo amplius super litus aridum applicuerunt, prosequentibus eosdem cum grandi violencia et sonitu in marinis fluctibus aliis piscibus eiusdem generis vel alterius ponitus (*sic*) ignoratur. Et prout relatu fide dignorum receperam qui oculis propriis predictos pisces viderant, tanta erat grossities corperum multorum eorundem piscium quod duobus viris celsior⁴ allitudinis ex oppositis lateribus piscis unius existentibus non poterant alterutrum se videre. Unde et incole regionis illius circumquaque per provincias Anglie carnes predictorum piscium deferentes foro competenti extraneis vendiderunt.

Anno gracie 1380 et regis Ricardi 2i anno 3o, 6 idus Octobris sacre memorie dominus Johannes de Thwyng prior canonicorum regularium de Bridlington temporalia relinquens eternalia gaudia degustavit. Hic vir vite venerabilis ab adolescencia sua mente et corpore redoluit castitate, de radice patientie florens,⁴ humilitatis centesimum fecit fructum erga dominum, emulans etiam superexcellens⁵ in orationibus pervigil quonium singulis noctibus cum suis fratribus in matutinis prout potuit laudes domino decantavit. Verum tamen quis qualis quantus vir iste exstiterat sequencia manifestant. Nam cum sellarius ex more officinas sui prioratus visitasset contigit ut horrium abbatie intraret, cumque per unum canonicum qui priorem granarii dolenter conquestum fuisset sibi quod in toto acervo tritici deposito in horreo vix 50 quarteria remanerent provisionum pater respondit "Scias, frater, quod dulcis deus servis suis semper necessaria providebit." Precepitque ut totum illud fructum celeriter expaliaretur, quod cum factum fuisset et estimationem omnium qui aderant 200 quarteria frumenti purificati in horreo remanserunt. Alioque tempore inusitato miraculorum genere dum viveret coruscavit. Nam nautis in mari periclitantibus, felix iste prior predictus in

¹ Interlined.

² Cleveland in the North Riding.

³ Cotum: East Coatham, a hamlet in the parish of Kirkleatham, between six and seven miles from Guisborough. Cf. *infra*, p. 137. Another account of this event occurs under the year 1377 in *Anonimale Chronicle* (ed. V. H. Galbraith), p. 118.

⁴ Cf. modern Fr. *marsouin*, a sea-hog.

⁵ MS. *florens ferens humilitatis* . . . *arga duos emilos etiam superexcellente*.

sue religionis habitu manifeste apparuit. Multiplicatus vel in sua specie nescio deus scit. Dixit quoque illis "cum salvi ad parcum perveneritis crucem dominicam et beatam virginem Mariam apud Bridlingtonam visitetis et devotis mentibus adoretis," quod cum naufragi post periculorum evasionem monasterium de Bridlington intrassent et priorem eiusdem loci ex insperato occursu in ecclesiam obvium habuisset, eum numquam ante visum cognoverunt dicentes et firmissime affirmantes eundem priorem eis in mari periclitantibus affuisse et salutis consilia prebuisse, quibus prior pacienter iratus fertur dixisse, "caveatis a mendaciis, non est ita, sed deus vos a periculis et naufragio libera-vit." Et festinato declinans ab eis locum solitarium requisivit: mundanam gloriam fugiendo divinam pervenerit sempiternam. Hic etiam prior deo devotus in cruce domini et non in alio didicerat gloriari, ut super in scala Jacob, per gradus contemplationis assendebat in dominum aut per gradus compascionis descendebat ad proximum. Singularitas in puplico omnino devitavit quia communis vita in exteriori apparencia in vesciendo in vescendo (*sic*) in conversando, seipsum suis fratribus canonicis adequavit non tantum quod lectulo dormentarii in sua iuventute sibi a suo priore assignato cum apparatu satis rudi et simplici excepto infinit' infirmitatis tempore quamdiu aduixerit usus fuit proprio¹ set vir iste deo gratus mirandis virtutum signis in vita claruerat. Setque a die transitus sui usque in presens per diversi mundi partes preclaris miraculorum prodigiis divina se potencia glorificante coruscat. Nam cecis et surdis mutis et claudis ydrepicis et paraliticis demoniacis et nautis naufragiis et captivis ipsius merit' remedia conferuntur. Omnibus quoque morbis necessitatibus et periculis subvenitur. Sed et multis mortuis per ipsum mirifice sussitatis innotessit fidelibus mirificans dilectum suum magnificentia virtutis altissimi, Cui est honor et gloria in secula seculorum Amen.

Anno gracie 1392. Undecimo die mensis Octobris et regis Ricardi secundi anno 15, quatuor fratres de ordine minorum fratrum. . . .²

[Page 7] . . . Anno gracie [1385] et regis Ricardi anno 7 [*recte* 8] dominus Johannes de Vian³ probus set pompaticus miles de Francia congregata secum magna classe gallicorum de assensu et beneplacito regis Francie transfretavit in Scocia votum vovens domino et suo gradui militari quod numquam in Francia, quousque manu armata Scotis sibi cum grandi exercitu adunatis totam Angliam usque Doveriam equitasset et cum terminos Anglie, Scocie, proximiores incendarent et devastarent. Occurrit eis rex Ricardus cum exercitu Anglicorum glorioso valde sperans se cum gallicis et Scotis letale bellum inire. Set Scoti cum Francis considerantes acies anglicorum fortissime ordinatas tamquam vecordes fugam petentes et ultra mareoticum refugium querentes Anglicis postea minime comparabant. Reversusque est

¹ MS. *proporre*, doubtless by metathesis. There are traces of an *i*, superscript above the *o*, in a lighter ink.

² See Note B, *supra*, p. 118.

³ Jean de Vienne, Admiral of France. *Vide* his biography by Terrier de Loray, Paris, 1877, chap. IX. The French fleet anchored off Leith, c. June 1, 1385. De Vienne led two raids across the border (July and August), avoided battle with the English and returned to France at the end of November. Richard mustered his army at Newcastle on July 14 (Rymer, VII, 473), and had returned there again on August 20 (*Rot. Parl.*, III, 208).

dominus Johannes de Vian cum Gallicis per mare in Franciam sue frustratus¹ proposito et periurus. Rex vero Ricardus valenter progrediens versus Scociam cum suo exercitu villas et silva usque ad mare Scottorum² incendiis supponens [page 8] abbathiam de Mewrice³ propter insideas ibidem latitantes nec non in villam regalem Scocie Eddyngburgh nomine ignitus devastaverunt. Post hec vero rex Ricardus auditus rumoribus nunciorum de morte sue matris indutis nigris vestibus cum toto suo exercitu in Angliam remeavit. Obiit autem in die sancte Agnetis virginis venerabilis memorie, domina Johanna mater regis Ricardis secundi sexto Idus Augusti⁴ anno superius memorato cuius corpus tumulatur inter fratres minores Stamfordie in capella sumptuosa iuxta chorum fratrum noviter edificatum.

Anno gracie [1382] et regio Ricardi anno 7 [recte 5] fuerat in Anglia terre motus generalis, ix kal. Junii⁵ hora prima post nonam qui terra motus maximis edificiis in partibus australibus grave dampnum intulit et iactura. Annoque eodem dominus rex Ricardus duxit uxorem sororem imperatoris in festo sancte Agnetis virginis nomine Annam que 13 anno dispensacionis sue nulla prole ditata deo suum vitalem spiritum commendavit, cuius corpus apud Westmonasterium est sepultum.

Anno gracie 1381 et regis Ricardi anno 4 ortum est decidium civile rusticorum ceterorumque in mechanicis artibus operancium et consurrexerunt in maxima multitudine de Kancia, de Exsex, de Sothsex, de Sowthfolgia, de Northfolchia, et de comitatu Cantibrigie, et generaliter per totam Angliam in maioribus civitatibus et burgis comunitas serviencium insurrexerat contra dominos Anglie et regios officiales et precipue †adversus dominum ducem Lancastrie et contra omnis iusticiarios regni et causidices et omnia iura regni nitebantur subvertere ut de cetero omnes servi per provinciam Anglie manumitterentur ut fierent liberi et sic de multis aliis que omnia dominus rex Ricardus metu eorum coactus sua magna carta promiserat confirmare. Unde et pro execucione intencionis eorum congregati sunt homines in armes et quasi dementes in maximo turpissimo et inordinatissimo numero quorum capitanei fuerunt Thomas Tilar, Jak Straw, et dominus Johannes Balle, sacerdos de secta Lollardorum. Hii omnes cum baculis et fustibus, cum gladiis et sagittis rubiginatis ceterisque instrumentis rusticalibus minime⁶ bello aptis, passim patriam depredantes et multos valenciores patrie decapitantes et capita illorum super eculia⁷ confusibiliter suspendentes, ut puta capita domini Johannis Cawndich,⁸ principalis iusticiarii de banco domini regis et venerabilis prioris⁹ nobilis abathie de Bury quorum capita amputata in villa de Bury super eculum horribiliter sunt affixa.¹⁰ Tandem in vigilia corperis Christi¹¹ processit ulterius

¹ Corrected from *prostratus*.

² Firth of Forth. Cf. *Walsingham*, II, 132; *Higden*, IX, 65.

³ Melrose Abbey.

⁴ August 8.

⁵ May 24, recte May 21.

⁶ He has written an "r" in this word.

⁷ *equulaus* or *eculeus* is a wooden rack, or instrument of torture, shaped like a horse.

⁸ John Cavendish.

⁹ John de Cambridge.

¹⁰ A contemporary account of the affair at Bury is printed in E. Powell's *East Anglian Rising*, pp. 139-143, from Cotton MS. Claudius A, XII.

¹¹ Wed., June 12.

furor inmanus predictorum proditorum ut civitatem Londoniarum intrarent, turrimque Londoniarum sine resistencia set et civitatem ceperunt et de turri archiepiscopum Cantuariensem, dominum Symonem de Suthbyry cancellarium regni, dominum Robertum Halys probum militem et magistrum sancti Johannis de Clerkynwelle hospitilarem et thesaurarium regni, et fratrem Willelmum de Apilton¹ de ordine minorum medicum regis contemptibiliter de turri extraxerunt et super quemdam planiciem iuxta turrim eos decapitaverunt. Caput vero archiepiscopi cum capillo capitis uno clavo capiti eius infixio super pontem Londoniarum suspenderunt omnes carceres Londoniarum confregerunt et incarceratos liberos dimiserunt. Quoscumque alienigas invenerunt sine moram decollabant. Deinde se transtulerunt ad manerium domini ducis Loncastrie extra muros civitatis nomine Sawsha² et illud manerium funditus distruxerunt. Magnumque thesaurum pecunie iocalia vasa argentea lactos et aulas³ preciosas cum armis et instrumentis armorum in aquam de Thamisia submercerunt in † contemptum domini ducis Loncastrie nec fuerat quisquam eorum ausus [Page 9] aliquid alicuius precii salvare seu asportare. Set omnia igne et aqua penitus sunt consumpta.

Accesserunt ad hospitale sancti Johannis de Clerkynwelle et illatis Hospitaliis conviciis et minis pulcherima eorum edificia combusserunt et mirum supra modum omnis probitas militaris in Anglia in vecordiam fuit versa in tantum ut nullus miles aut armiger se auderet dicere de attinencia domini ducis Loncastrie aut eius signum puplice deportare. Ymmo dominus dux predictus auditis eorum nephariis excessibus expauit et in Scociam se transtulit. Set benedictus deus qui tradidit impios infra triduum sequens in campis Londoniarum domino rege Ricardo presente capetanius eorum a maiori civitatis Johanne Walworthe quia domino regi non fecerat reverenciam debitam nec in gestu nec in verbo grave where sauciatius aretatus est et statim decapitatus. Caput vero eius in altum erigitur super palum. Propterea predictus maior a domino rege prout meruit insignitus est ordine militari. Ceterique missi numero quasi innumerabiles ut oves errantes sparsim fugerunt de quibus multi eorum fuerunt capti et capite truncati et eorum capita in multis partibus Anglie puplice sunt suspensa.⁴

Anno gracie 1388 [recte 1387] et regis Ricardi secundi anno undecimo 25 die mensis Augusti convenerunt ad villam Notynghamie pro consilio protractando dominus rex Ricardus cum certis dominis et principalioribus iusticiariis regni ad hoc hoc (sic) specialiter convocatis quorum nomina hic notitur: dominus Alexander † Nevyle archiepiscopus Ebor', dominus Robertus Veer, dux dictus Hibernie, et comes Oxonie, miles elegans et iuvenis dominoque regi pre ceteris adamatus, dominus Michael de la Pule, comes † Sowthfolgie et cancellarius regni Anglie; iusticiarii vero qui convenerant fuerunt isti.⁵

¹ Cf. *Anonimalle Chronicle*, p. 145, the only other reference to Apilton's murder.

² Savoy.

³ A form of *aulaeum* = tapestry (*Ducange*, s.v. *aula*).

⁴ Much of the detail in this account of the Peasant's Revolt appears to be derived from the same source as the *Anonimalle Chronicle*.

⁵ Here follow the questions to the judges, slightly abbreviated from the text printed in *Rot. Parl.*, III, 233-234: 357-358, and in nearly all the chronicles of the reign.

[Page 10] . . . Hec autem predicta cum nota facta fuissent certis dominis quod taliter essent implicite accusati de crimine lese magistratis regie ac etiam regni, scilicet dominus Thomas de Wodstok, dux Gloucestrie, dominus Ricardus, comes Arundellie, et dominus Thomas Bewcham comes Warwici et alii quam plures, vigilantia festinancia coadunati sunt cum omni sua retinencia in maxima multitudine hominum armorum predicti domini scilicet dux Gloucestrie, comes Arundellie, comes Warwici, comes de Derby, et comes marescallus et disposuerunt se potenter defendere et omnibus eorum emulis pro viribus contrahere. Interim dominus Robertus Veer dux Hibernie dictus et comes Oxonie ut viriliter exequeretur iudicia predicti consilii congregaverat sibi ex parte regis pretensa pregrandem exercitum hominum armorum et sagittarium de Westchest'schyre de Loncasthyr' et de multis aliis partibus regni et hii omnes cum duce Hibernie domino Roberto Veer, precedente eos vexillo regis explanato usque regem qui tunc erat apud London iter arripuerunt, quibus dux Gloucestrie cum predictis comitibus et exercitibus suis apud Ratcot Brig' iuxta villam de Bampton¹ vias precluserat quibusdam eorum interfectis quibusdam armis spoliatis et insuper gladiis et fustibus verberatis sic que ad suas patrias omnes permisit liber pertransire. Dux vero Hibernie clam fugat et deinceps in Anglia puplice non comparuit. Hiis itaque gestis in festo Sancti Thome apostoli² accesserunt [Page 11] dux Gloucestrie et predicti comites cum exercitibus . . .³ et exercitus de civitate obsederunt mittentes ad regem mediatores dominos providos et discretos protestantes quod nihil proposuerunt agere contra dominum suam regem neque contra iusticiam et iusta iura regni set ut se et sua defenderent et iustarum legum destructores destruerent, iusta et iura regni pro suo posse manutenerent. Insuper et rogaverunt regem quatinus parliamentum suum apud London' convocaret in purificatione beate virginis Marie⁴ proxima tunc futura. At vero venerabilis comes Northumbrorum, dominus Henricus † Percy, cum domino rege in turri Londoniarum indiividuus comes existens vice mediatoris inter regem et procures regni predictos quamvis⁵ periculose tamen prudentissime mediavit et bellorum genuz pessimum intestinum quod tunc verisimiliter minari⁶ timebatur dei gratia dissuasit. In isto quidem parlamento quamvis de assensu regis spontaneo non prodierat, forisfacti sunt et extra protectionem regis positi omnes domini et justiciarii qui predicto consilio Nottinghamie intererant cum assensu, et preter hec omnia bonorum eorum mobilia et immobilia confiscabantur et mirabili casu dominus Robertus

¹ Radcot Bridge, near Bampton, Cf. *E.H.R.*, Jan. 1927, for an account of the campaign.

² Dec. 21, recte Dec. 20.

³ The rest of this line has been clipped away.

⁴ Feb. 2, recte Feb. 3.

⁵ This reference to Northumberland does not occur elsewhere and it does not correspond with the detailed accounts we have of events in London after Radcot Bridge (v. "Another Deposition of Richard II?" *John Rylands Library Bulletin*, Vol. 14, No. 1, Jan. 1930, pp. 35-39). Probably the reference should be to Northumberland's mediation between the king and the Appellants in November, 1387 (*Knighton*, II, 244-245.) The story of deposition, almost certainly known at Kirkstall, may have been suppressed as dishonouring to Richard.

⁶ MS. *mimer* or *muner*.

Tresylyan principalis iusticiarius de banco regis qui in apparatu simplicimo facie transfigurata explorandi causa iam venerat ad Londonias in principio parlamento faciliter exploratus est. Statimque captus per dominos parlamenti ignominioso morti adiudicatus est, et a turre Londoniarum tractus ad furcas de Tyburne incisus gutture suspensus est.

Interim dominus Alexander † Nevyle archiepiscopus Ebor' forisfactus clam in Brabanciam transfretavit et anno 7 exilii sui quievit in domino.¹

Anno vero sequenti dominus Thomas de Arundell episcopus Eliensis principalis regis consiliarius institutus non assumptus ut postea patebit loco domini Alexandri † Nevyle nuper exulati in sedem archiepiscopalem translatus est.² Item dominus Robertus Veer dux Hibernie dictus Anglie exul infirmitate correptus aliquantulum elanguit et terminum vite clausit. Similiter et dominus Michael de la † Puul comes de Sothfolchie et cancellarius regni exul a regno clam fugit et ulterius in Anglia non est visus. Ceteri vero iusticiarii antedicti adiudicati fuerunt carceribus separat' in turre Londoniarum expectantes suum iudicium et parlamentum quod prolongatum fuerat usque ad octavas Pasche quibus in quadragesima ministrabatur panis et pitancia cum potu tenui in mensura. Post Pascha³ autem producti fuerunt coram dominis parlamenti et in aula Westmonasterii audiente toto populo parlamenti, receperunt sua iudicia talia, primo quod omnia bona sua mobilia et immobilia fuerunt forisfacti, secundo quod ipsi iusticiarii supradicti et servientes ad legem tamquam prodoctores legum regni Anglie a turre Londoniarum ad caudas equorum usque ad furcas per civitatem traherentur et ibi propter eorum dimerita vitam suam suspendio terminarent. Iusticiarii omnes subito pallidi et pavesti metu probrose mortis illis adiudicate genuflectentes coram dominis parlamenti regraciabantur eis dicentes iusto illorum iudicio se talem mortem missam merito subituros. Interim archiepiscopus Cantuarencis magister et dominus Willelmus Courtney cum aliis episcopis et magnis prelatiis statim post condemnationem iusticiariorum aulam parlamenti intraverunt lacrimabiliter et humillissime⁴ deportantes ne tanti et tot sapientes legum Anglie necarentur. Set ut vitam eis et membris consederent propter deum; quod et factum est sub tali condicione⁵ quod in Hibernia omnes simul infra tempus breue eis determinatum perpetuum exilium paterentur. Unde et exules facti omnes in Hibernia relegantur, et ex eisdem quidam mortui sunt ibidem et quidam post novem annos sequentes de mantato domini regis Ricardi tunc quasi primo regnantis in Angliam reversi sunt.⁶ Hiis ita gestis in fine eiusdem parlamenti plures milites de speciali [Page 12] familia regis per

¹ Neville died at Louvain in 1392.

² Cf. *infra*, p. 130. No other chronicle applies this title to Arundel. The words *institutus* and *assumptus* probably should be in the reverse order: the implication is that the translation was resented.

³ April 11. The judges were tried on March 2, *Rot. Parl.*, III, 238.

⁴ MS. *hmssime*!

⁵ Note the mixed construction.

⁶ This account of the trial of the judges is fuller than that of *Knighton* (II, 295) or the Anon. of Westminster (Higden, IX, 170). The phrase "quasi primo regnantis" illustrates the chronicler's interpretation of the events of 1397-1398.

predictos dominos scilicet dominos Gloucestrie, comitem Arundellie et comitem Warwici contra voluntatem regis propter multa enormia eis imposita ignominiose morti addicti sunt. Nam dominus Nicholaus Bremburgh, quondam maior Londoniarum, et tunc miles de camera regis summeque regis predilectus et dominus Johannes Salisbury miles et hospitator regis morti proditorum adiudicati per placeas civitatis tracti postea suspensi sunt. Item dominus Johannes Bewcham aule regie senescallus et dominus Jacobus de Barnes iuvenis miles de camera regis¹ iudicio parlamenti condemnati ob reverencia regis remisso eis suspendio pariter decollantur, et quod pretereundum non est dominus Symon de Burley quo nullus sui status compar in omni exteriori apparatu gloriosior in equis et in omni pompa seculari ceteros proceres excellebat. Hic vero miles non obstantibus humilibus precibus et genuflectionibus domine regine Anglie pro vita eius morti contemptus est contra voluntatem regis iuxta turrin Londoniarum super quadam planum (*sic*) capite est truncatus.

Sicque predictum parlamentum quibusdam digne quibusdam indigne vertitur in tormentum.

Anno gracie 1388 et regis Ricardi secundi anno 12 infra octabas sancti Johannis baptiste² intraverunt Scoti in Angliam exercitus grand' nimis quorum duces fuerunt dominus Jacobus comes Dowglas, vir prudens et potens preliator, dominus Georgius de Dunbar comes merchie et more guerrino villas comburendo anglicos occidendo patriam denudabant. Qui tandem ad portas novi castri³ confluentes magnum insultum † dederunt multaque ficta et falsa convicia, venerabili comiti Northumbrorum domino Henrico Percy suoque progenito domino Henrico Percy clamoribus vocibus intulerunt. Commotus namque dominus Henricus Percy progenitus supradictus miles iuvenis et cordatus assumptus secum domino Radulpho Percy germano suo et exercitu modico respective agmina Scotorum invasit, et comisso certamine inter partes mutuo decertarunt comes de Dowglase et predictus dominus Henricus Percy. In quo conflictu gracioso cecidit, predictus comes de Dowglas qui gravi ulnere percussus ut miles bellicosus mortuus est ibidem. Venerabilisque dominus Henricus supradictus a domino Georgio de Dunbar scoto et comite Marchie captus est malens cum honore captivus haberi quam cum pudoris dispendio inter Anglicos esse liber. Capti sunt in eodem conflictu dominus Randulphus + Percy cum multis aliis valentibus militibus et interfectis [*footnote*: cui dederunt pro redempcione sua xij milia marcarum]. Valens et validus satelles bellicosus vexillarius domini Henrici Percy nomine Johannes Waltham in eodem sertamine multos Scotos vita privavit a Scotisque multipliciter concussus. Tandem letali ulnere ibidem spiritum exalavit. Hiis itaque gestis apud Oturburne [*marginal note*: in Northumbria] modicum post

¹ Tout (*Chapters in Mediæval Administrative History*, IV, pp. 341, 344-346) names Salisbury, Beauchamp and Berners as knights of the king's Chamber, but does not include Brembre. Salisbury was usher of the Chamber, and Beauchamp (of Holt) was steward of the household, *Ib.*, III, p. 429; IV, 204.

² June 24—over a month too early. The battle was fought on Aug. 5.

³ Newcastle.

festum sancti Laurencii martiris,¹ Scoti eorum duce capetano interfecto cum predicta capta ad propria remearunt.

Anno gracie 1394 et regis Ricardi secundi anno 17 [*recte* 18] circa festum S. Michaelis archangeli² transfretavit rex cum grandi exercitu et valido in Hiberniam pro regulis totius Hibernie sibi subiciendis que cum pacificis tractatibus factum fuisset et homagiis omnium regulorum Hibernie personaliter regi factis, hieme transacto statim post Pascha³ rex Ricardus cum omnibus suis tranquille ad Angliam remeavit. Eodemque anno 8 Kal. Junii⁴ invaluit tempestas pergrandis ventorum et nimium qua pecora in campis [*Page* 13] percussa moriebantur, plurimaque germinancia tunc valiter virencia veluti a fulmine illius tempestates in tempore combusta sunt.

Anno gracie 1396⁵ die sancte Barnabe apostoli mense Junii inter Peterburgh et villam de Steilton⁶ tanta grandinum tempestas dessenderat quod universa blada illius patrie vehementi impetu ad solum pariter colabantur et quod amplius est ad mirandum quidam grandinum lapides in circuitu mensurati 15 pollices continebant. Verumtamen supradicti lapides concavi intus erant.

Anno gracie 1396 et regis Ricardi anno 20 modicum ante festum omnium sanctorum⁷ rex Ricardus cum omnibus proceribus et satrapis regni Anglie transfretavit in Francia accipere sibi uxorem et reverti. Accepit autem filiam regis Francie nomine Isabellam etatem 8 annorum habentem et annum nonum in euntem, quam rex Ricardus post multos solempnes tractatus inter ipsum et regem Francie personaliter celebratos et inter ducum et comitum et episcoporum maiorum utrorumque regnorum sumptuosa ga[u]diorum solempnia pridie nonas Novembri⁸ in ecclesia beati Nicholai episcopi et confessoris apud Caleseum matrimonio desponsavit. Quam et in crastino epiphanie domini immediate sequente⁹ in reginam Anglie apud Westmonasterium solempniter coronavit.

Anno gracie 1397 Rex Ricardus anno regni sui 21 reminiscens et recent' ad memoriam reducans iniurias sibi et suo regno irrogatas per certos dominos Anglie anno Christi 1388, illas iniurias proposuit iustificare et regnum Anglie ad suum regimen deducere conatus est. Unde et in manerio suo nomine Kenigton circa nativitate sancti Johannis baptiste¹⁰ immediate post horam nonam ex parte regis proclamatum est quod omnes de curia sua statim se pararent securiori modo quo possent cum domino rege profecturi set ad quem locum vel que facturi forent totaliter ignorabant. Cumque rex cum tota sua curia et grandi retinencia que occurrerat sibi in via Londonias (*sic*) intrasset et securam custodiam civitat' maiori et vicecomitibus commendasset,¹¹

¹ Aug. 10.

² Sept. 29.

³ April 11.

⁴ May, 25.

⁵ Note that this "1" is practically a "7."

⁶ June 11. Stilton, co. Hunt.

⁷ Nov. 1.

⁸ Nov. 4.

⁹ Jan. 7, 1396.

¹⁰ Kennington, *c.* June 24. Evesham, p. 129, has the same date. *Traison et Mort*, p. 5, fixes the date as after July 25, which is too late, and puts the rendezvous at Huntingdon's house in London. Cf. *Annales*, pp. 201-202.

¹¹ This is not recorded elsewhere. Cf. *Cal. Letter Book, H*, pp. 437-438 for proclamations of the arrests in London on July 13 and 15.

profectus et statim est nocte equitando summo mane pervenit ad manerium domini Thome de Wdstok ducis Gloucestrie nomine Plasghe¹ qui subito premunitus de festino adventu sui regis, egressus est ipse cum domina ducissa et tota prole cum² capella processionaliter ante regem in genuflectionibus et aliis congruis requesitis debitam reverenciam ostendentes.³ Quos cum rex resalutasset et dominam ducissam generose de terra elevasset, predictum dominum Thomam ducem Gloucestrie erezavit et comiti marescallo Anglie tradidit. Quem cum accepisset transduxit ad Caleseum et ibi ut vulgo dicitur callide occisus. Arestatis et statim postea domino Ricardo comite Arundellie et domino Thoma comite Warwicy et in securo custodia positus dominus rex suum solempnium consilium congregavit apud Notingham 23 die Julii⁴ ubi predicti domini dux Gloucestrie comes Arundellie et comes Warwicy per sex comites Anglie tunc coram assistentes appellati sunt de alta prodicione contra regem et regnum; et post hec 16⁵ die Septembr' dominus rex suum instituit parlamentum apud Londonias ubi et primo die accusationis dominorum stetit et respondit dominus Thomas de Arundellia archiepiscopus Cant' germanus comitis Arundellie set in principio suo responsionis imponebat sibi silencium cum hoc adiectivo quod tempore futuro forte non sufficeret ad abicienda contra se plenarie respondere.⁶ Secundo die in pleno et plano parlamento proclamatus est publice dominus Thomas Arundellie archiepiscopus Cant' proditor regis et regni et per iudicium parlamenti extra regnum Anglie infra 40 dies proximos relegandus. Sibi quippe impositum fuit quod totum privatum consilium domini regis quando primo erat institutus principalis regis consiliarius, semper parti domino [Page 14] regi adversarie scilicet germano suo domino comiti Arundellie denudabat⁷ et propter hoc et alia sibi imposita exul Anglie effectus est. Altera autem die vocati sunt ad iudicium domini supradicti dux Gloucestrie et comes Arundellie et comes Warwicy. Set comparentibus predictis comitibus, dux Gloucestrie in curia superiore coram summo iudice comparebat, et recitatis gravibus articulis contra dominos de crimine lese magestatis regie condemnati sunt ad mortem et omnia eorum bona domino regi fuerunt iudicialiter forisfacta. Set tandem precibus graciosis domine Isabelle regine Anglie dominus rex condescendens vitam concessit domino Thome comiti Warwici et misericordie oleum commiscens, cum vino iustitie relegavit eum in insulam Mannie certam annonam sibi constituens temporibus vite sue. Comes vero Arundellie eodem die scilicet feria 6 in festo sancti Mathei apostoli⁸ super eandem planiciem ubi dominus Symon de Burley iuxta turrin London' occisus est et ipse comes suo

¹ Plesshy in Essex.

² Corrected from *et*.

³ Cf. *Rot. Parl.*, III, 418, "... ducem Gloucestrie . . . domino regi cum processione solemptni humiliter occurrentem. . . ."

⁴ The appeal was issued at the Council of Nottingham on Aug. 5. *Rot. Parl.*, III, 451.

⁵ *Recte*, Sept. 17.

⁶ Cf. *Adam of Usk*, p. 11; *Evesham*, p. 133.

⁷ This charge is not recorded in the articles of impeachment or in other chronicles.

⁸ Sept. 21.

capite privatus est. admirabilis et diuturna regalis paciencia olim quidam sol¹ erat tectus nube scilicet regia magestas sub aliena potestate set iam armis saliens in montibus et transiliens colles suis cornubus nubes et sole ventulavit et solis lucem clarius demonstravit.

Anno gracie 1396 et regis Ricardus secundi anno 20, dominus Thomas de † Arundellie translatus est a sede archiepiscopali Eboracensis ecclesie ad sedem archiepiscopalem Cantuarie et loco eius translatus est ad archiepiscopatum Ebor' frater Robertus Waldeby de ordine fratrum Augustinencium qui primo sui pontificatus anno Glovernie malo morbo tibi interiit et anno sequenti ad sedem eandem translatus est magister Ricardus Scrope² doctor utriusque iuris.

Anno Christi 1398 [*recte* 1397] et regis Ricardi post conquestum anno 20 [*recte* 21] inceptum erat parliamentum apud London circa festum omnium sanctorum³ ubi et in quo parlamento diversa statuta fuerunt ordinata set tunc minime promulgata. Insuper et hoc parliamentum translatum fuit ad villam de Schrewisbery et ibi aliquantulum continuatum est et inter cetera ibi acta venerabilis dux Hardifordie dominus dux de Lancastria † et heres domini ducis Lancastrie appellavit horrificum ducem Northfolchi comitem Marescallum Anglie dominum Thomam Mowbray de dictis proditoriis contra dominum regem; quorum quedam ut non proditore dicta predictus dux Northfolchi concessit et quedam constanter et intrepide denegavit unde et pro certiori declaratione prefate appellacionis in presencia domini regis supradictus dux Harfordie animose se optulit ad duellum quod ab altero duce Northfolchie acceptatum est. Deinde ad villam predictum parliamentum iterum transfertur, et inibi terminatur. Iuxta quoddam villam⁴ campus duelli sumptuose disponebatur ubi et dominus noster rex Ricardus 16 Kal. Oct.⁵ nec non et venerabilis dux Lancastrie dominus Johannes Gaunte et ceteri duces comites et procures maiores totius Anglie convenerunt. Sedenteque rege pro tribunali armat' et duobis predictis in Agone⁶ ad duellum construct', ac omnibus preambulis de iure duelli neccessario requisitis statim antequam covenirent, dominus rex alta voce proclamavit pacem et sic ab invicem alterutrum sunt divisi, unde et consequent' factum est infra quindenam sequentem, dux Ardefordie dominus Henricus Lancastrie per terminum 10 annorum extra Angliam bannitus est et in Franciam relegatus. Alter vero dux Northfolchie dominus Thomas Mowbray pro termino vite sue de regno Anglia exul proclamatur qui eodem anno [*Page* 15] sui exulatus in partibus transmarinis viam universe carnis feliciter est ingressus. Insuper et dominus Johannes Gaunt honorabilis dux Lancastrie graviter desolatus pro progenito suo in Francia relegato corporali infirmitate aliquid elanguit et terminum vite clausit. Post cuius obitum et sepulturam solempniter

¹ Possibly a reference to the emblem of the rising sun which Richard adopted about this time.

² The absence of reference to Archbishop Scrope's execution in 1405 is evidence for composition at an earlier date.

³ Nov. 1, *recte* Sept. 16.

⁴ Coventry.

⁵ Sept. 16.

⁶ This is not a known mediæval usage. *Agon* is normal for a tournament or even a *duellum*, but not for the place where the combat took place. It is therefore probable that in *Agone ad duellum* is a parallel to *sub tali cum condicione*.

celebratam in monasterio sancti Pauli apud Londoniam anno Christi 1399 modicum ante festum virginis gloriose,¹ † dominus rex Ricardus in mense Maii cum grandi exercitu transfretavit in Hiberniam [*footnote*: et permansit ibidem usque ad festum sancti Johannis baptiste] relicto in Anglia suo marescallo et locum et vices gerente venerabili duce Ebor', domino Edmundo de Langlay una cum consilio privato domini regis, domino Willelmo † Scrope, comite de Wildeschira, domino Johanne Buscy, domino Henrico Green, et domino Willelmo Bagote,² quorum consensu et autoritate regia promulgata sunt et proclamata per totam Angliam aliqua statuta in parlamento ultimo ordinata una cum bannitione ducum predictorum, et pro maiore robore statutorum non tamen generaliter expressorum, compulsi sunt omnes generosi regni Anglie omnesque ecclesiastici et laici universaliter quocumque titulo possessionum dotati ad corporale iuramentum prestandum pro tuicione et defensione statutorum predictorum supradicti parlamenti cum suis bonis et etiam cum eorum corporibus ei oppoteret et super hec omnia suis sigillis appensis cuncta prefata certius confirmaverunt. Istis omnibus sic dependentibus et non totaliter expletis' [*an erasure here*] prefatus³ dux Hardefordie dominus Henricus Lancastrie [perpendens regem esse in Hibernia] de Francia rediens in Angliam pro iure suo hereditario conquirendo [*footnote*: cum quadam nave in Holdernes iuxta Bridlynton] in Humbrian prope Ravenser [*in margin*, 4 nonas Julii⁴ applicuit], secum ducens venerabilem dominum archiepiscopum Cantuarie nuper exulantem⁵ dominum Thomam Arundellie et etiam filium et heredem comitis Arundellie cum centum fere hominibus bellatorum, qui omnes pacifici per patriam transeuntes infra triduum venerunt ad castrum de Pykering⁶ cuius custodia a domino rege domino comiti de Wildschir' domino Willelmo Scrope fuerat deputata, quod in primo adventu domini ducis a subcustode castelli fuerat deliberatum, et capta ibidem seisina duorum dierum transiit ad castellum de Knaresburgh quod et pari modo deliberatum est quamvis difficiliter in parte. Positisque in eisdem castellis custodibus suis se transtulit ad castellum Pontefracti [ubi] ad eum confluerat magna multitudo generosorum militum et armigerorum cum suis stipendiariis de comitatibus Ebor' et Lancastrie quidam sponte et quidam metu casium futurorum. Verum tamen supradictus dux Lancastrie dominus Henricus sic conplacenter captabat benevolenciam dominorum. Quod venerabilis comes Northumbrorum cum suo progenito domino Henrico Percy et eorum forti et copiosi retinencia dominus Randulphus de Nevyle comes Westmerlandie, dominus de Willoby cum eorum retenencia in suum subsidium et obsequium convenerunt numero circa 30 milia virorum forcium iuxta Doncasteriam numeratorum; et consilio inito dominorum dimiserunt se per turmas et quidam precedentes a dextris quidam a sinistris propter salvacionem bladum et propter victualia eis necessaria dominum ducem concomitabantur et semper ubicumque dux pertransibat set numerus confluencium ad eum au[g]mentabatur

¹ Feb. 2. Gaunt died on Feb. 3.

² Bagot.

³ The passage "dux Hardefordie" to "ducem concomitabantur" was published, with inaccuracies in *Traison et Mort*, pp. 286-287, from MS. Dodsworth (Bod. Lib.), 116, f. 148.

⁴ July 4. Cf. *Annales*, p. 244, circa July 4.

⁵ MS. *Sic*.

⁶ Pickering.

quod iuxta Gloverniam ad c milia virorum. Deinde transierunt de confinibus Glovernii versus Bristolliam quam ut domino duci significatum fuit predicti iusticiarii pro tutamine ad castellum Bristollie confugerunt. Cumque dominus comes Northumbriorum iuxta muros castelli Bristollie fecisset proclamari omnibus existentibus in castello ut qui sponte [Page 16] exierent ad eum sine corporali dampno paterentur abire et qui nollent capitibus¹ truncarentur. Quo audito quidam submissis funibus per muros castelli quidam per fenestras et quidam per portam ad comitem exierunt. solis relictis in castello domino Willelmo Scrope, domino Henrico Gren et domino Johanne Bussy cum paucis eorum amicis eis pro tunc assistentibus.² Quos cum dominus comes³ Northumbriorum aretasset, representavit domino duci Lancastrie et die sequenti scilicet 4^{to} Kal. Augusti⁴ ex diffinito iudicio dominorum condemnati sunt pena caput puniendi quorum capita sic sunt divisa, ut capud domini Willelmi Scrope comitis de Wildeschira, super pontem Londoniarum, caput domini Johannis Bussy super pontem Eboraci, et caput domini Henrici de Gren super pontem Bristollie confusibiliter sunt suspensa. Ac vero dominus Willelmus Bagote primitus clam subterfugit ad Hiberniam nec cum ceteris regis consiliariis conceptus est sed postea in Hibernia fuit captus et ad parlamentum Londoniarum per probum militem dominum Petrum de Bucton⁵ puplice est deductus qui in eodem parlamento sic exquisite ad inquisita respondit quod mortem pro tunc evasit. Verumtamen positus fuit continue sub secura custodia ballivorum. Sic quippe detruncato regis Ricardi consilio, dominus dux Lancastrie cum exercitu suo versus et adversus comitatum Cestrie iter aggressus est ibique pro magna parte comitatus bladis et pratis equorum pedibus conculcatis, villaque Cestrie cum castellis captis multis et viris patrie illius interfectis et eorum bonis multipliciter confiscatis decretum sui propositi adimplevit⁶ et interim omnia castella regis Ricardi in Anglia situata capta sunt et expulsii custodibus a domino rege Ricardo ibidem deputatis novi custodes et capitanei sunt instituti et quod pretereundem non est dominus Thomas de Dispensariis episcopus Norwycensis cum convenienti exercitu in manu armata, iter assumpsit versus regem; set brevi conflictu habite inter ipsum et partem exercitus domini ducis Lancastrie captus est episcopus cum suis et in arta custodia est detentus.⁷ Preterea dominus rex Ricardus auditis rumoribus de adventu domini ducis Lancastrie in Angliam et eius progressus animos de Hibernia in Wallia transfretavit cum x milibus virorum armatorum convocatoque exercitu in Wallia⁸ expletus est numerus xx milium virorum forcium assistencium domino regi set timore domini ducis Lancastrie cum suo exercitu illis partibus appropinquantis minoratus est exercitus regis et transtulit se dominus rex cum paucis ad quoddam castellum nomine Conway satis forte et quasi in expugnabile

¹ MS. Capiditibus.

² This account of the surrender of Bristol Castle does not occur elsewhere.

³ Interlined. ⁴ July 29. Cf. *Rot. Parl.*, III, 656.

⁵ Cf. *Rot. Parl.*, III, 458, for an account of Bagot's acquittal in 1399.

Vide n. 3, p. 134 for Bucton.

⁶ Cf. *Dieulacres Chronicle*, pp. 49-50.

⁷ Cf. *Evesham*, p. 152; *Annales*, p. 246.

⁸ Perhaps a reference to Salisbury's army at Conway.

cum privata familia. Ita tamen secrete quod multi de suo familiari et privato consilio nescirent eius descensum ab eis et sic regis curia distributa totaliter est dispersa. Cumque dominus rex Lancastrie certitudinaliter sciret dominum regem Walliam intrasse, festinavit illuc ire, et cumque non multum distarent misit ad regem comitem Northumbrorum cuius verbis et persuasionibus multiphatis dominus rex assensum prebuit dieque sequente convenerunt dominus rex et dux Lancastrie et ex diffinito consilio domini ducis et aliorum dominorum ductus est rex ad civitatem Londoniarum et in turre civitatis tenebatur sub secura custodia dominorum. Ceteros vero duces et comites qui primitus domino regi favebant et qui consilarii fuerant in propositis suis transmittiebant ad castella et forcia maneria separatim in boria situata. Set infra paucos dies sequentes deducti sunt omnes ad civitatem Londoniarum, scilicet in festo sancti Michaelis archangeli¹ expectantes iudicia et gratiam domini ducis Lancastrie et aliorum dominorum parlamenti tunc inibi congregati et quod preterire non decet venerabilis comes Warwicy dominus Thomas Bewcham reductus est in Angliam de exilio suo ab insula Mannie et restituta et restituta (*sic.*) sunt ei omnia dominia eius cum ingenti gaudio Anglicorum. Incepto autem parlamento [*Page 17*] infra Oct. S. Michaelis archangeli, dominus rex Ricardus renunciavit corone regie et regimen regni Anglie sub hac forma: In nomine dei Amen [etc., see *Rot. Parl.*, III, 416, down to *evangelia*]. Consequenter post hanc admirabilem renunciacionem dominus Henricus venerabilis dux Lancastrie suscepit regnum Anglie sub suo regimine cum hac forma. [Followed by Henry's claim, in Latin.]

[*Page 18*] Et sic ad coronam et regimen Anglie venerabilis dux Lancastrie dominus Henricus de Lancastria a precibus et orationibus regni ad regni regimen eligitur et acceptatur et in festo sancti Edwardi² regis et confessoris solempniter coronatur. Insuper de sua speciali gracia supradicti duces et comites scilicet dominus Edwardus dux de Albamarella progenitus ducis Ebor³ domini Edmundi Langley, dominus Thomas de Holandia dux de Sothray et comes Cancie, dominus Johannes de Holandia dux de Exonia, dominus Willelmus de monte acuto comes Sar' et alii quam plures qui domino regi Ricardo asterunt in consiliis et factis suis restituta ad dominia sua hereditaria contra vota totius comunitatis parlamenti. Hoc uno excepto quod illi duces qui per regem Ricardum fuerant creati et nominati duces iam privati sunt [*et crossed out*] nominibus ducum et nominati sunt comites sicut prius. Soluta igitur parlamento et recedentibus dominis singulis ad sua, dominus Ricardus quondam rex Anglie dictus ductus est sub custodia domini Peter de Bucton³ ad castellum de Knaresburgh et deinde post unum mensem elapsam quo transferebatur inter communes et wigares penitus ignoratur. Set etiam a quibusdam quod sit mortuus suspiciatur. Hic rex Ricardus renovavit et sumptuosissime perornavit magnam aulam Westmonasterii intus et extra subtus et supra anno Christi 1398.

¹ Sep. 29.

² Oct. 13.

³ Bucton had been appointed steward of Holderness on Nov. 1, 1399 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, p. 73); in the Chronicle of Melsa (III, 298-299) he is called "nostro et compatrioto, qui maxime familiaris dicti domini regis extitit prae dilectus . . . dicto domino regi in applicatione apud Ravenzer Spurne ob exilio . . ."

Anno gracie 1399 et regis Henrici quarti post conquestum anno primo, domina Isabella¹ regina Anglie et filia regis Francie servabatur in castello de Wallyngforth cum magna diligencia et honore nimium tristis et desolata propter infelicia fata sive infortunia sui sponsi domini Ricardi dicti secundi post conquestum tunc in quadam turre castelli Pontefracti solitari inclusi et qualiter ibidem mortui deus novit modicum post festum purificationis virginis gloriose,² cuius corpus ad Londonias ducebatur et peractis ibidem exequiis sibi preparatis, non in sepulcro patrum scilicet suorum regum, set apud Langlay transfertur et inter fratres predicatorum finaliter sepelitur. Insuper et infra octavas Epiphanie³ domini proximo precedentis dominus Thomas de Holandia comes Cancie iuvenis miles et elegantissimus autem memorie dominus Willelmus de Mowntagu comes Sar', et dominus Randulphus † Lumlay quare ut fertur in populo insurrexerent et conspiraverent dolose contra regem eorum dominum Henricum quartum in villa Circestrie per communes eiusdem ville ibidem cum suis stipendariis militibus armigeris et quibusdam aliis concepti sunt, decollatisque inibi predictis ducibus comitibus et domino Radulpho Lumlay, ceteri milites et armigeri cum aliis prefatis dominis assistentes numero 27 convicti vinculati et ad Oxonias deducti cum capitibus dominorum suorum puplice per plateas super hastas deportatorum omnes ibidem pariter decollantur.⁴ Eodem quoque tempore et eadem causa dominus Johannes de Holandia, comes Huntingtunensis per dominam comitissam Harfordie prope eius dominium et habitationem⁵ cum suis stipendiariis hospitatus subtiliter exploratur capitur et decapitatur capite domini Randulphi de Lumlay una cum quarta dextera supra pontem australem civitatis Ebor' confusibiliter sunt suspensum (*sic*). Et quia predictus comes Johannes cum (?) eadem quarta iuxta Ebor' dolosissime commiserat homicidium unius virtuosi⁶ iuvenis militis progeniti et heredis comitis Stafordie⁷ merito ibidem iuxta suum demeritum recepit suum premium. [Footnote: Set et caput postea dominus Redulphus Lumlay ad instanciam venerabilis] [Page 19] domine uxoris sua de licencia domini regis deinde transfertur et inter fratres minores Ebor' traditur sepulture.⁸ Et quoniam dominus [blank in MS.] dominus de Dispensariis de eodem crimine lese magestatis regie erat vehementer suspectus, idcirco per maiorem et comuni-

¹ It seems as if the writer did not know of the return of Isabella to France in Sep., 1401.

² Feb. 2. On or before Feb. 8 it was agreed at the Privy Council that Richard, if alive, should be placed in safe-keeping, and if dead, his body should be shown openly to the people (Nicolas, *Proceedings*, I, 111-112. Rymer, VIII, 124. On Feb. 17 money was paid to transport his body from Pontefract to London (Devon, *Issues*, p. 275).

³ Jan. 6-12.

⁴ Cf. *Traisin et Mort.*, pp. 89-91.

⁵ Huntingdon was beheaded at Plesshy.

⁶ Corrected from *virtuose*.

⁷ Ralph Stafford was murdered at York on July 16, 1385 (*Higden*, IX, pp. 61-62).

⁸ Huntingdon's wife, Elizabeth, was a sister of Henry IV. The order for taking down the head was issued on Feb. 19, 1400 (*Cal. Close Rolls*, p. 56). This is the latest date referred to in the Chronicle.

tatem ville Bristollie arestatu condempnatur et capite detruncatur, eodemque tempore superius memorato. Causa vero miserabilis casus regis Ricardi et procerum Anglie iudicio discretorum virorum hec erat precipua et principalis quod dominus rex Ricardus spreto consilio maiorum ducum dominorum seniorum et sapienciorum Anglie nimis adhesit votis et consiliis iuvenum dominorum et aliorum virorum minus habencium et valencium in altis iudiciis minime expertorum quemadmodum rex Edwardus de Karnarvan dictus secundus post conquestum. Et quia dominus rex Ricardus ex suo consilio nimis severo salva semper reverencia regia maiestatis et suorum consiliariorum generosum ducem Gloucestrie dominum Thomam Wdstok suum patruum ac etiam dominum Ricardum venerabilem comitem Arundellie contra vota [totius in margin] communitatis Anglie fecerat occidi, nec non et dominum Thomam de Arundellia virum utique prudentem archiepiscopum Cantuarie et dominum Thomam Bewcham nobilem comitem Warwici de regno Anglie exules efficerat et consequent' anno sequenti dominum Henricum de Lancastria tunc honorificum ducem Harfordie et progenitum pie recordacionis domini Johannis Gaunt magnifici ducis Lancastrie, dominum Thomam Mowbray ducem Northfolchie in exilium relegaverat. Ideoque isti in regem Ricardum et in eius sanguinem iuraverunt. Vindicta publica ut apparet iudicio multorum iustissime retorquetur quum qui vehementer emungit elicit sanguinem secundum sapientem et iuxta sententiam salvatoris, Eadem mensura qua mensi fueritis remittitur vobis. Luce 6. [Rest of page blank].

[Page 20] *A greatt fyer in York Mynster*.¹

Cardinal' Cistercien' Cardinal Vunens'² et alii.³

Anno gracie 1376 et regis Edwardi tertii anno 50 in festo sancti Jacobi apostoli circa solis ortum facta sunt tonitrua et fulmina maxima apud Eboracum ubi et accidit hoc admirandum relacione dignum † [in quodam]⁴ conus quippe pyramid' pulcherimi campanile abathie sancte Marie globo fulminis accendebatur et sic vehementer combussit totum campanile cum campanis suis usque ad eius fundamentum quod nullus materialis ignis in tam parva morula illa combussisset, ab eius ymo usque ad suum summum, et remansit materia cinerum tantorum combustabilium quam nulla vel modica respective.

Anno gracie 1377 et regis Edwardi tertii anno 51 quidem spiritus malignus in effigie humana multum formose et splendide ornatus Joliwat⁵ wlgariter

¹ A sixteenth-century endorsement on the preceding page.

² The letters before the *e* merely represent six minims.

³ Probably a reference to the visit of three Cardinals to England, July, 1357 to September, 1358. Cf. *Anon. Chron.*, p. 43, and *Chronica Johannis de Reading et Anonymi Cantuariensis*, ed. J. Tait, pp. 167, 207, 268. Their names were Taleyrand de Perigord, Cardinal bishop of Albano; Nicholas Capocci, Bishop of Urgel and Cardinal priest of St. Vitale; Pierre de la Forêt, Archbishop of Rouen. The text is corrupt: perhaps the original ran: "Cardinalis Pagonensis et Cardinalis Urgelensis et alius [Cardinalis]."

⁴ Not in MS. Laud Misc. 722, fol. 126, which, however, continues after respective: *Ruina campanalis ecclesie cathedralis beati Petri Ebor' fuit in esto sancti Edmundi archiepiscopi Cantuarien'*, anno domini 1405.

⁵ *N.E.D.* under *Jolywat* gives "a ship's boat of small size." The word here is, perhaps, for *O.F. jolyvet*, "a gay or pretty little creature."

nominatus multis viris et mulieribus apparens vultu placidissimo optulit eis munera preciosa, que cum gratanter acceptassent, statim in amenciam et furorem bestialem versi sunt, latrantes ut canes, herbes et herbusta ut bestie comedientes de quibus ad littera prophatum est in spalmo Homo cum in honore esset non intellexit, comparatus est iumentis [insipientibus] et similis factus est illis.¹

Eodemque tempore quidam pronostica futurorum significancia iuxta † villam Doncastrie acciderunt. Nam cuidam adolescenti eiusdem ville tres spiritus maligni in humana effigie similiter apparuerunt. Quorum unus quasi grandis rusticus fustem terrabilem in manibus gerere videbatur decidium civile rusticorum infra descriptum significans et ostendens. Secundus spiritus malus ecclesiam pregrandem super suos humeros deportavit, ecclesie militantis cismaticam divisionem prefigurantem. Tertius malus spiritus in apparatu samptuose (*sic*) apparuit multis similiter generosis civile decidium dominorum prenuncians prout inferius annotantur. Porro inito spiritus tercius predicto adolescenti callide suavit quatenus proprio cultello cuideret suum guttur, quod facinus cum implesset puer letaliter lesus in domum paternam festinavit cumbansque in lectulo mirabilia prout potuit locutus est vehementer desiderans accedere ad unum puteum altum vicinum domui sui patris. Quod cum pater parvi notum fuisset fecit os putei magnis lignis et ponderosis lapidibus obstrui, timens ne puer taliter illesus ad puteum accederet et semetipsum submergeret in profundum. Verumetiam interiecta brevi morula abscentibus pueri custodibus puer letaliter sauciatus accessit ad puteum et solus os putei detexit quod pater eius cum multis aliis grandi diligencia obstruxerat. Patefactoque puteo puer seipsum submersit et mortuus est ibidem.

Eodem anno coronatus fuit Ricardus rex Anglie 17 Kal. Aug.

Eodem etiam anno post festum S. Michaelis innumerabilis multitudo cete et delfinorum in Anglia applicuerunt cum horribili clamore et gemitu quod omnes in sicco remanentes interfecto sunt. Tales autem pisces numquam antea visi sunt. Nam formam cete vel delfinorum non plenam habuerunt. Erantque tam magni quidem illorum a 16 bobus moveri non potuerunt. Carnes eorum tam grosses quod etiam mendici vix edere voluerunt. Pinguedo vero bona et commestibilis erat aliquorum. Quorundem tamen ita dura erat quod commedi non sic potuit. Et quanto diucius coqueretur tanto magis induruit.

In diebus quoque predictis prope Eboracum super moras vicinas et in aliis multis locis in Anglia visi sunt multociens circa meridiem diei homines in multitudine copiosa quasi in circuitu ambulantes in mantell' nulla capita habentes sive colla. Sepius enim visa sunt et ita palam quod omnis ordinacio eorum luculenter potuit ab intuentibus considerari. Hoc portentum apparuit ante mortem pape et regis predictorum, forte scismata que per gentes sine capite tam in illo regno quam aliis ac in ecclesia dei post mortem ipsorum erat futura pretendens prout in sequentibus denotabitur manifeste.

¹ Ps. xlviii, 19. *Insipientibus* omitted in MS.

SOME UNPUBLISHED CORRESPONDENCE OF THE
REV. RICHARD BAXTER AND THE REV. JOHN
ELIOT, "THE APOSTLE TO THE AMERICAN
INDIANS," 1656-1682.

EDITED BY F. J. POWICKE, M.A., PH.D., D.D.

INTRODUCTORY.

AMONG the MSS. of Dr. Williams's Library is a series of sixteen or seventeen letters which passed between Baxter and Eliot from November, 1656, to May, 1682.

They lie scattered in one or other of several folio volumes and a conspactive view of them used to be difficult. But now rotographed facsimiles are available and these the Trustees have granted me the privilege of reading and transcribing at my leisure—a privilege all the greater because some passages in Eliot's letters are not easy to make out. He could write quite legibly if he gave himself sufficient time and space. Too often, however, his script is so hurried, so crowded and so abbreviated as to be almost undecipherable. One has to confess, further, that not a little turns out to be hardly worth deciphering ; and so I have been content here and there with a brief summary or the quotation of a few salient sentences. It might be asked if the letters were worth transcribing at all. Perhaps not. The answer will depend on one's degree of interest in the writers. But for myself they reflect a light on certain aspects of the two men—on Eliot especially—which is welcome.

With one or two exceptions the time-sequence is easy to trace, but there are two wide gaps. Thus the letter of November 7, 1657, is followed by a gap of ten years, while we have a dozen letters for the next four years (1667-71). Then comes a second gap of eleven years, and no letters after May 30, 1682, the date of the last. But the gaps are only apparent. The last, *e.g.*, evidently presupposes a recent correspondence, and so do the two letters of 1663 which

Baxter reserved for publication in his autobiography (R.B. pt. ii. pp. 293-7). In fact, the probability may be said to amount to a certainty, that the friendship first revealed by Eliot in 1656 found expression, more or less continuously, through all the years down to Eliot's death in 1690, a year before Baxter's. It seems likely, then, that more letters have been lost than have come down to us; and, as all that have been preserved are among the Baxter MSS. in Dr. Williams's Library, it is clear that they owe their preservation to Baxter himself—which means that his own letters are copies made and kept according to his custom, while Eliot's are the originals.

If we wonder why so many have been lost, probably the explanation is that, with much else in his library, they were scattered or destroyed on such an occasion as the thorough-going distraint which took place in August, 1682. The marvel is that anything of his in the way of books and MSS. ever came into the possession of his friends. But I imagine that books or MSS. were treated as rubbish which his friends might take at their pleasure, so far as they had not been torn up, or burnt, or carted away.

OUTLINE OF ELIOT'S LIFE.

John Eliot, born in 1604, was eleven years older than Baxter. The exact date of his birth is not known, but its place was Widford in Hertfordshire near the borders of Essex, and the old register of the parish church of St. John has this record of his baptism: "John Eliot, the son of Bennett Eliot was baptised the 5th day of August in the year of our Lord, 1604."¹ His father was a landholder in four

¹ On May 21, 1894, a memorial window in the chancel of the church was dedicated to him—at the expense of his descendants in America. There are said to have been two branches of the Eliot stock. John's branch, which traced its origin to Sir William de Aliot, a Norman knight who came over with the Conqueror, and a Devonshire-Cornwall branch, which produced the famous patriot Sir John Eliot (1592-1632) and, nearly 300 years later, the no less famous President of Harvard, Dr. Charles W. Eliot (1834-1925). The family of Charles W. Eliot migrated to Massachusetts toward the end of the 1630-40 decennium; and have been settled there ever since. John's descendants—from whom came the memorial window—passed over, at an early date, to Connecticut. I am indebted for this information to Dr. H. H. Saunderson of Boston, the author of an excellent study of President Eliot (1928), who had it from the President's son, Dr. Samuel A. Eliot. See also, "The Puritan as a Colonist and Reformer," by E. H. Byington (1899).

or five parishes of Hertfordshire, and, as his will shows, he had a large estate for those times. By that will he provided generously for the education of his son John at the University of Cambridge and, also, for that of his younger children. John was third in a family of seven. Before he was six years old the family had removed to Nasing in Essex—a place distinguished for the number of Puritans that went from it to New England. The next discernible facts are that John matriculated as a Pensioner in Jesus College, Cambridge, on March 20, 1618-19, and received the degree of B.A. in 1623. Nothing certain is known about his Cambridge life, but we are told that his bent was toward the study of languages, especially Greek and Hebrew, and that he was fond of philological enquiries. In the light of later evidence this seems very likely. The next few years are a blank, until about 1629, when he appears as usher in a school founded at Little Haddo, Chelmsford, by Rev. Thomas Hooker, preacher at Chelmsford.

Hooker had already drawn upon him the unfriendly notice of Laud, and in 1630 he was summoned before the High Commission. He fled to Holland; and in 1633, after brief periods of ministry at Amsterdam, Delft, and Rotterdam, withdrew to Cambridge in New England (1633), where he proved himself a great leader till his death in 1647. It was confessedly to him that Eliot owed his definite start in the Christian life. By him, too, he was led to take Orders in the English Church; and, no doubt, it was the treatment of Hooker that turned his face to the West. He reached Boston on November 4, 1631. Other passengers in the same ship, besides the wife and children of Governor Winthrop, were Eliot's three brothers and three sisters. It was a family migration. Almost at once on his arrival he took the place of the Rev. John Wilson, Teacher of the Charleston-Boston Church, who was on a visit to England, and it is a curious fact that Roger Williams, afterwards notorious for his advocacy of universal toleration, had just declined the same position because the Church owned the validity of Episcopal Orders. These he had, but thought nothing of then. He wanted to be properly ordained by the people!¹ Eliot felt no such scruple—a sign that he was not yet a strict separatist. He took the office of teacher in virtue of his standing as a minister of the Church of England. Moreover, he filled it so much to the

¹ Walker's "Creeds and Platforms of Congregationalism," p. 99 note.

satisfaction of the people that they wished to retain him after Mr. Wilson's return. "But he had engaged with a select number of his Christian friends in England that if they should come into these parts before he should be in the pastoral care of any other people, he would give himself to them and be for their service." Their arrival, therefore, in 1632, decided him. They "chose for their habitation the place they called Roxbury." He went with them and there "he shone as a star for near three score years." In September of the same year he was married to the lady, Hanna Mumford, to whom he had betrothed himself before leaving England. She had come out with his other friends, and their marriage was the first recorded in the Roxbury church-book. They lived together for fifty-seven years, and "God made her a rich blessing, not only to her family (of six children) but also to her neighbourhood." His own people were the young pastor's first care—perhaps his absorbing care. For little is heard of him till 1646, when on October 28 he preached his first sermon to the Indians in their own language. Then we learn that he had been hard at work on the language for two years and had long been in the habit of going to them and trying to win their confidence. So the call to work for their conversion became imperious. When the Colony afterwards took for its seal the figure of a poor Indian with a label in his mouth containing the words "Come over and help us," Increase Mather (1639-1723), the most prominent minister of the second generation, traced its adoption to the influence of Eliot. "Certainly it was the Holy Spirit," he wrote, "who inspired him to hear and obey that call." But at first not all his brethren by any means were sure of its divine origin. They were rather inclined to think that the Indians were wild beasts whom God called them to fear and fight. And there was suspicion and prejudice on the part of the Indians themselves.¹ Hence his progress was slow. But, from the outset, a few of the natives were disposed to listen, and by winning these he won others. His method was congregational. A church of genuine converts—of the few but fit—was his aim. Five years passed, and then (in 1651) his labours bore fruit in the first gathered church at Natick. Its members bound themselves first in a church-covenant, next they and their children were baptised, then the adults partook of

the Lord's Supper. This was not precisely Baxter's notion of a church ; but to Eliot it was as truly a church as any in the New Testament.

To this church, and to others which grew up later, Eliot went to preach once a fortnight—regularly, it seems, until he was over eighty. After a while other English preachers assisted him. But for the management and upbuilding of his churches he looked mainly to the principle of self-help. As far as possible he trained converted Indians to become pastors and teachers. To these he joined other Indians, as ruling elders. And he made their appointment to depend on the counsel and choice of the people. Thus, in the accepted sense, each church was independent.

In 1674 the number of "praying Indians" (the name for the converted) had increased to 3600. Then came the disaster known as King Philip's war—an uprising of the Indians against the settlers which lasted from June, 1675, to August, 1676, and threatened their extermination. "Of the 80 or 90 towns to be found in Plymouth and Massachusetts colonies in 1675, 10 or 12 were utterly destroyed," and 40 more partially burned, while "between 500 and 600 young and middle-aged men—a fourth of all of military age in the colonies—lost their lives," besides "scores of women and children who perished by the tomahawk and died amid the torments of the stake." The effect upon the Indian churches and Eliot's missionary work must have been devastating.¹ Yet in 1687 Increase Mather could report : "There are 6 churches of baptised Indians in New England and 18 assemblies of catechumens professing the name of Christ. Of the Indians there are four-and-twenty who are preachers of the word of God ; and besides these there are 4 English ministers who preach the Gospel (to them ?) in the English tongue." This was the evangelical aspect of his work ; but the work was not merely evangelical. Eliot used to say that for a missionary it is "absolutely necessary to carry on civility² with religion," and he acted on his own motto. A visitor to one of his Indian settlements would have noticed a considerable measure of self-government, and that provision was made "for industrial occupations, clearings, houses and clothes." Especially noticeable would have been his regard for education. Every

¹ Unfortunately any letters of Eliot to Baxter on the matter have not survived.

² *I.e.* social work.

church had its school, where reading in the native language was taught with other elementary subjects, and at length even elementary science.¹ In this respect he did for the Indians what he did for his own people at Roxbury, where he insisted on a grammar school at all costs. "God," we are told by Cotton Mather, writing after Eliot's death, "so blessed his endeavours that Roxbury has afforded more scholars for the College (Harvard), than any town of its bigness ; or, if I mistake not, of twice its bigness in all New England. From the spring of the school at Roxbury, there has run a large number of streams which have made glad the whole city of God." Recalling Charles W. Eliot one would say that zeal for education was in the Eliot blood.

Eliot died in May, 1690, in his 86th year. His last words were "*Welcome Joy.*" "I think"—wrote Rev. Thomas Shepherd, his close friend and best helper—"that we can never love nor honour this man of God enough. The name of the Apostle to the Indians must always stand in distinguished brightness on that roll of the servants of the Most High whom New England delights, and ever will delight, to honour in the records of her Moral History."

In the year of his death a brief but beautiful memoir of Eliot was published by one who had known him from his own earliest years—Cotton Mather, son of Increase Mather.

A few sentences from it may be quoted.

"He was one who lived in heaven while he was on earth." "*Every* day was a sort of Sabbath to him, but the Sabbath-day was a taste of heaven with him."

"He laboured that he might, on this high day, have no words or thoughts but such as were agreeable thereunto, he then allowed in himself no actions but those of a raised soul." It was his habit to conduct two services at Roxbury on Sunday and a weekday fortnightly lecture ; but, to feed his own soul he made weekly visits to lectures at Boston, Charlestown, Cambridge, and Dorchester—where he showed his "affection" for what he heard by "hands and eyes devoutly uplifted !" In his preaching he gave the people "food and not froth." "His delivery was graceful and grateful." "He liked no preaching but what had been well studied for—BEATEN oil."

His personal habits verged on the ascetic.

¹ See letter 14, *infra*.

"We are all of us compounded of these two things, the man and the beast ; but so powerful was the MAN in this holy person that it kept the beast ever tied with a short tether."

"The sleep that he allowed himself, cheated him not of his morning hours, but he reckoned the morning no less a friend to grace than to the Muses. He would call upon students, 'I pray look to it, that you be morning birds.'"

His diet was of the simplest. "One dish, and a plain one, was his dinner." "For a supper he had learned of his loved patron, Mr. Cotton, either wholly to omit it or to make a small sup or two the utmost of it." "Good clear water" was his usual drink : "Wine is a noble generous drink, but, as I remember, water was made before it." "When he thought the countenance of a minister . . . looked as if he made much of himself he would go to him with the speech, 'Study mortification, brother ! study mortification !'"

He had no pride of life. "His apparel was without any ornament and he wore a leathern girdle about his loins." "Seeing some scholars once whom he thought a little too gaudy in their clothes, '*Humiliamini, Iuvenes, Humiliamini,*' was his immediate compliment to them." His own deep humility was the secret of his eminence—it "made him higher by a head than the rest of the people," and was what gave weight to his admonitions.

Finally, "he was a great enemy to contention. When he heard any ministers complain that such and such in their flocks were too difficult for them, the strain of his answer to all was—'Brother, learn the meaning of those three little words, Bear, forbear, forgive.'"

Baxter knew this little memoir. He received a copy of it from the writer's father (Dr. Increase Mather), and it was the occasion of a letter to the latter (dated August 3, 1691)—said to be the last he ever wrote. Dr. Mather was then in London on a mission from the colony to obtain a renewal of its charter.¹ He wrote, "I thought I

¹ Increase Mather fled from Boston in April, 1688, and had been resident in London since the following June—his chief business being to obtain a renewal of New England's charter. On June 4, 1688, he was received by James II. in the Long Gallery at Whitehall and presented a letter of thanks for the King's 'declaration of Indulgence' from some twenty New England congregations. On June 20 he called at Charterhouse Yard to see Mr. Baxter who led the majority of London ministers against the declaration—see p. 188 of Kenneth B. Murdock's "Life of Increase Mather," Harvard, 1929.

had been near dying at twelve o'clock in bed, but your book revived me. I lay reading it until between one and two. I knew much of Mr. Eliot's opinions by many letters which I had from him. There was no man on earth whom I honoured above him. It is his evangelical [*i.e.* his missionary] work that is the apostolical work I plead for. I am now dying I hope as he did. It pleased me to read from him my case: 'my understanding faileth, my memory faileth, and my hand and pen fail, but my charity faileth not.' That word much comforted me."

The two men never met in the flesh, but, as Baxter said, many letters passed between them; and of these are the sixteen which follow.

SHORT OUTLINE OF CONTENTS.

- (1) October 16, 1656. Eliot writes to Baxter as a stranger to him by face but as a brother of the spirit—deeply indebted for help received from his "Saints' Everlasting Rest" in a time, not yet passed, of bodily pain "very heavy and bitter." His object in writing, is not only to thank him but specially to urge him to employ his peculiar gift for such work in composing manuals of meditation—to cover every aspect of Christian life and experience.
- (2) January 20, 1656/7. Baxter, after expressions of warm sympathy and concern, asks what Eliot finds to be the greatest hindrance in his work for the Indians; excuses himself from the (present) undertaking which Eliot suggests; and begs him to forward all he can the union of Presbyterians and Congregationalists in England.
- (3) October 7, 1657. Eliot ascribes the former paucity of converts from among the Indians chiefly to the unworthy conduct of nominally Christian people but reports a recent change for the better; meets Baxter's hesitant response to his suggestion with a practical proposal for carrying it out; and deals, at some length, with Baxter's motion about the furthering of union between English Presbyterians and Congregationalists.
- (4) End of 1667? Letter, undated and unaddressed, from Baxter to Eliot. It was called forth by a booklet which Eliot printed (not published) in 1665 at Cambridge (Boston). Only two copies are known to exist, one in a private library at Hartford (Connecticut)

and one in the Bodleian (Pamph. 122(B)). The title—from the Bodleian—begins: “Communion of Churches, or, the Divine Management of Gospel Churches by the ordinance of Councils, Constituted in order, according to the Scriptures. As also, the Way of bringing all Christian Parishes to be Particular Reforming Congregational Churches. . . .” 8vo, Preface ii, 38 pp.

The little volume meant so much to its author and is so singular in its proposals, that it is worth while to indicate its drift.

There are eight short chapters, *viz.* :—

Chap. 1. *Prolegomena*, or things premised, *viz.*, that there must be—

(a) A Church of believers and

(b) A Council of Churches.

Chap. 2. A Council in the first instance, should consist of 12 local Churches, represented by at least 24 messengers, or a multiple of 12. The number 12 is the Gospel measuring reed.

Chap. 3. The constitution of Councils extends to four orders :—

(a) District Councils = 24 messengers (at least) from 12 Churches. These to meet monthly.

(b) Provincial Assemblies = 24 delegates from District Councils. These to meet quarterly.

(c) National Synods = 24 delegates from 12 Provincial Assemblies. These to meet once a year.

(d) Œcumenical Council = 24 delegates from 12 National Synods. This, when once attained, to be always in session.

Its seat (D.V.) will be Jerusalem. It will have no President or Pope, but be directly subject to Christ. It will be His holy breastplate—corresponding to the 24 elders before the Throne. Through it Christ will rule all the world—both of civil and ecclesiastical affairs—by the Word of His mouth delivered to His saints (*i.e.*, I take it, the 24 elders) in the Hebrew language.

Chap. 4. The order of electing the Councils is fundamentally Congregational. The first choice of messengers is by the individual Church, and carries with it all the rest. “Hence it must be carefully and expressly put into the Vote of this first act of the Churches, that they (the messengers) are chosen to carry on the ordinance of Councils in all the orders of it both in Provincial, National and Œcumenical

Councils even unto the highest point." How often the choice of the individual churches is to be exercised is not clear, but apparently once a year, in order to keep the stream of delegates permanently fresh.

Chaps. 5 and 6 outline the work of the Councils in its general and special character. The object, in both respects, is to ensure right order or discipline; and the conclusion is notable:—

"Within the compass of one year the whole order of elders and discipline has its course." Moreover, once established it is compulsory. Such as defy discipline are "high disturbers and must be suppressed by civil power;" and if this should entail the death penalty, Eliot is inexorable. "It is a greater good to preserve order than to preserve the lives of the wilfull and obstinate violators thereof." So he landed himself among the persecutors, Romish and others, by the same argument as theirs.

Chap. 7 is concerned with the way to bring "every Christian parishional congregation to be an explicit reforming congregational church;" and

Chap. 8. Treats of the management of these councils—with no small reliance on the magistrates.

Such a scheme, emanating from a Congregationalist, was something uniquely curious, and could not be taken seriously. Respect for Eliot's character may have saved it from open ridicule; but nobody in New England seems to have noticed it. It "sank like lead in the mighty waters of oblivion" (Dexter). In the course of time, however, a copy came to Baxter who not merely noticed it, but also set down and sent to Eliot a number of "Animadversions" (or reflections), not by any means all critical. Indeed, he goes so far as to say that this Platform of Mr. Eliot's would have been gladly accepted by the "sober" of both parties (Presbyterian and Congregational) in England eight or nine years ago;¹ and that even now they would rejoice if it were commonly owned by the brethren of the Congregational way. But the New England brethren knew better.

(5) 10 December, 1667/8. Eliot's grateful acknowledgement of the "Animadversions" is remarkable (1) for his defence, on scriptural grounds, of the death penalty in the case of those who hold out pre-

¹ *I.e.* in 1657/8 when Baxter's "Associations" were spreading.

sumptuously against the Established Church order. He had the Quakers particularly in mind. In Massachusetts from 1656 onwards "four Quakers were executed, excessive fines were imposed, and a system of frightfulness was put into operation in the shape of unmerciful whippings."¹ Eliot apologises for this under eight heads.

(2) His implied reference to what was known in New England as the Half-way Covenant—agreed upon at the Synod of Boston in 1662—which affirmed the membership of the children of church members, and a right to baptism of *their* children if they do but express "an intellectual faith in the doctrines of the Church and sincere assent to its covenant." This was carried by 7 to 1. Eliot's name is not given. But if it be true that he had been moving towards the Half-way house since 1649² this letter may be taken to prove that he had arrived there—constrained chiefly by his regard for the young people. It reveals, however, a profound sense of misgiving.

The letter enclosed a little script (not extant) advocating "one great poynt" *viz.* : "that Magistrates should be chosen by the Churches to be members of the Councils."

- 22 January, 1667/8. An anxious enquiry about his last letter, (6) and some slight corrections which Baxter is asked to make in *his* copy of the "Communion of Churches." A strange sentence near the end seems to compare the Puritans of England at one time (under Laud ?) to Isaac "bound for sacrifice, throat open, sword drawn !" "There wanted only the word, and THAT God stayed." Hence we of New England ought to "receive all the godly in England" as by a resurrection.

- 27 March, 1668. Baxter to Eliot. Has thankfully received (7) his corrected copy of the two letters. Is in general agreement with what he has written, but has been startled by "a truly great difference such as I thought had never been between you and me." Eliot's conception of Baptism as "a particular covenant" made for, or by, the candidate for church-membership, is the great difference. His own view of Baptism regards it as a universal covenant identical with the covenant of grace. This view has ever been the mind of the Church. Our very Christianity consists in it. Eliot's doctrine, on the other

¹ "The Religious History of New England," p. 180, Harvard, 1917.

² Walker's "Creeds and Platforms of Congregationalism," p. 254.

hand, is strange—very strange. Nor is it that of the ENGLISH Congregationalists at least. “The congregational men here, of chief name” are “wholly of my mind.” Under this wrong impression of Eliot’s enormous singularity Baxter writes in an excited strain.

The rest of his letter is an emphatic assertion of his opinion that the people have no ruling voice in the admission of members to the church, nor in the judging of fellow-communicants.

(8) 15 June, 1668. Eliot to Baxter. Takes up four points, but is mostly concerned to quiet his friend’s fears as to that upon which he had expressed himself so vehemently. He reduces the real difference to a “tantillum.”

(9) 28 October, 1668. Eliot to Baxter. He has just discovered an objection of Baxter’s to the seventh chapter of his book on communion of churches which he had overlooked. One much the same had been urged by another reverend and beloved friend and a kinsman of his own. To him Eliot had replied in a letter which he transcribes *verbatim* for Baxter, and sends in the hope that it may satisfy him as well. At the end he reports the death of his eldest son, “a good workman in the vineyard of Christ, my assistant in the Indian work, a staffe to my age.”

(10) 22 September, 1668. A reply to Eliot’s of 15 June. Baxter is thankful for further light and for his friend’s hearty breathings after unity and peace. There is nothing between them which need disturb their profound agreement of spirit and aim. “If we had here the same spirit we had been heal^d long ago.” But alas! the absence of that spirit is more evident and mischievous than ever. He dwells on this in a striking passage. Then he proceeds to combat Eliot’s claim for the people’s right (the *vulgus*) to fill church-offices by a major vote, and to repudiate Eliot’s application of the name “the spouse of Christ” to a particular church. Thirdly and chiefly he returns to the question of the Baptismal covenant, finds to his delight how Eliot has narrowed down the difference to almost nothing, and goes on to elucidate his own position under ten heads. Finally, he says that if Eliot could succeed in getting his conciliatory principles acted upon by the New England churches it might do much toward getting them practised here—“if ever our superiors allow opportunity”; and in a PS. he asks to be informed about the Indian language and the prospects of the Indian evangelistic work.

- (11) Spring ? 1669. Baxter's next letter is undated and unfinished, but its references to the "objector" whom Eliot wrote about in October, 1668, point to an early month of 1669. Eliot had argued for the Church-*proper* as interior to the Parochial Church, and yet for the latter, as truly a church in some sense. Perhaps Baxter recognised the distinction before the end of his letter and did it justice, but as it stands the letter is merely a diatribe (most interesting) against separatism—in the light of his experience at Kidderminster and Acton. I am inclined to think that this letter was not posted. The abrupt finish and the unusual shape of the paper suggest as much ; and a confirmatory fact is that in his next letter
- (12) 20 June, 1669, Eliot does not mention it. What he does is to acknowledge the receipt, in the Spring, of two letters—one of September, the other of January, 68/9. Eliot (1) takes up the points of Baxter's September letter and "ventilates" them (Baxter's word) one by one. It is the longest of his letters, and the most instructive, if one would see just how far his Independence extended, and what he expected of the magistrate when Independency ran wild. Some anabaptist fanatics at, or near, Boston had been forced to choose between banishment and imprisonment. They chose imprisonment, and when liberated, did not scruple to say that God had appeared on their behalf in the death of their leading opponent—and even in the death of Eliot's son—though the latter had "not the least finger in the matter." This might well seem to excuse strong measures. Eliot (2) then turns to Baxter's second letter—that of January—which can hardly be the aforesaid undated one, yet may possibly be one which he wrote instead of it. This is suggested by the fact that Eliot refers to something said by Baxter about the necessity of thorough Parochial visitation by ministers if the Church is to prosper, but it is rendered doubtful by the fact that he says not a word about Baxter's striking experiences at Acton and Kidderminster. The last part of the letter is an illuminating answer to Baxter's question (or questions) regarding the Indian dialects and mission. It ends with the remark that his son-in-law, Mr. Glover, and his youngest son have devoted themselves to the work, but that their continuance and progress in it depend upon the degree of support they get from the commissioners in London.
- (13) 5 February, 1670 ? Baxter's next letter is undated and unsigned and ends in the middle of a sentence, but is proved to be the

next by its contents—its reference, *e.g.*, to the case of Thomas Gold, and to what Eliot had said about the interference of the civil power. Baxter's remarks, under the latter head, are a particularly clear statement of his own opinion on the subject. The letter is interesting for two other reasons, (*a*) it seems to imply that Eliot had thought of giving himself up to missionary work entirely, and that his Roxbury Church or some of its members had claimed a monopoly of him. Baxter says, "Were I your neighbour and I did believe that forsaking your Church would enable you to do much more service to the poor Indians than your Church service cometh to, I should cast in my judgment that it were your duty so to do, and to be only the apostle to the Indians."

The early congregational view of ordination—that it was the seal of an indissoluble marriage between a man and a particular church—did sometimes induce this feeling of sole possession, and led to inconveniences which broke it down. What gradually took its place was Baxter's view of ordination as a man's setting apart by qualified ministers, or elders, to the *general ministry of the Church*—though occasioned, it might be, by the call of a *particular* church. (*b*) The letter is interesting also for its vivid account of his abhorrence of Separatism as distinct from Independency. It stops short at a point where he had begun to justify (once more) his view of Baptism. And the same subject is continued in what has been taken to be *another* letter, but which seems rather to be a later part of this (13)—with some connecting sentences or paragraphs missing. Two facts, besides identity of topic, tend to prove that the two are one :—

(1) The closing words, "I heartily thank you for your intelligence of the extent of the (Indian) language"—an acknowledgment to be expected in a reply to Eliot's letter of June 20, 1669.

(2) The Subscription, "Feby 5th, from my poore obscure recess where I have been since I came out of prison for preaching, and not taking the Oxford Oath."

The "recess," of course, was Totteridge nr. Barnet, whither he went in October, 1669, after his release from the New Prison or Clerkenwell—a poor place for the first months of winter but safely outside the range of the Five Mile Act. Baxter couldn't have written twice to Eliot between the receipt of his June letter and February 5,

1670. Mr. Black, the compiler of the B. MSS., reached the same conclusion, perhaps on the same grounds.

- (14) 27 June, 1671. Eliot to Baxter; after receipt of two books, not named but certainly "*A Cure of Church Divisions, or Directions for weak Christians to keep them from being Dividers or Troublers of the Church*," and its sequel "*A Defence of the Principles of Love*" . . . addressed to "those Readers who . . . are offended" at the former—books that occasioned an extraordinary outburst of violent and even malignant resentment. Eliot writes to thank him "most kindly" for them, and says they had been heralded by reports which came with a noise not much beneath thunder. Being summer time, which is a time with him of much action and little reading, he has only dipped into them—but he has read enough to assure himself that they contain nothing but what savoureth of "the still voyce." "Beloved Brother, God is teaching you patience and meekness, two eminent Gospel graces, and I rejoiced to see your proficiency in that school of Christ which seemeth to me to appear in your second book. . . ."

As to his own affairs, he had never before experienced "such violent opposition of Satan" in connection with his Indian work. He will defer the history of it till the end of the year and then lay it before the honourable corporation in London. Meanwhile, he has begun the difficult attempt to teach the Indians something of the Liberal Arts; and is organising an evangelistic enterprise of the Indian brethren to their unconverted neighbours. Apparently to help these neophytes, he has drawn up "a few instructive dialogues which are also partly historical." A copy of this and of his A.B.C. manual of instruction in the Arts, he has sent to his "worthy friend" Mr. Ashurst—from whom or from Mr. Bell, Baxter will get to see them.

- (15) 2 September, 1671. Baxter's answer begins—"Yours of the 21st (27th ?) of y^e fourth month I rec^d this 2nd of the 7th (September) just as I was sealing up letters for New England." So he wrote on the instant that he might add it to those already written to other New England friends. Who were these? The Mathers, father and son, Increase and Cotton? Probably. And perhaps John Woodbridge, of Kenilworth (or Kenlurewoth, N.E.).¹

¹ See my "Life of Baxter," vol. ii. pp. 46-48.

This letter should be carefully read by any one who may wish to see the situation in England, as it appeared to Baxter, during the months which immediately preceded the King's Declaration of Indulgence (March, 1672). To him the state of the Nonconformists was deplorable. Under sufferings they had been drawn together and "seemed peaceable and calm," but the comparative ease due to the King's connivance had relaxed their unity and let loose their bad tempers both amongst themselves and against the prelatie party. There is less chance than ever of bringing them to confess "terms of universal concord." In one place, he has a sentence, broken by a dash and followed by two dotted lines, which half conceals and half reveals the charge that 2 or 3 (3 or 4) leaders (ministers) have been doing their utmost to influence Nonconformist opinion against peace and charity. He has watched them at it "for 15 yeares."

So he envies Eliot, notwithstanding his troubles. "Though you must begin low Oh ! how much higher and nobler a work is it than our fierce contentions about we know not what ourselves !"

He ends with a word of advice that Eliot would so reframe his "good motion for Stated Synods"—which he hears is neglected—as to free them from the least suggestion of "tyranny." If you would do this "and bring them but to the practice, you would I think do much to your common strength and safety."

- 16) 30 May, 1682. A letter from Eliot after eleven years—though many letters have been written on both sides during this period and later. The occasion of it was two-fold : (1) the receipt of Baxter's funeral sermon for Mr. Henry Ashurst, preached in December, 1680, and sent to him by his eldest son. "I did reade it wth much mixture of affection both of sorrow and joy." He notes, with special thanks, Baxter's recital of what Mr. Ashurst had done to protect and serve the London Corporation (in 1660), upon whose support Eliot's Indian work depended. And this leads him (2) to beg Baxter that he will use all his powers of persuasion with the Corporation to supply the money required to print a revised impression of the Old Testament in the Indian tongue. "We have done the New Testament and Psalms but cañot get leave to print the Old Testament, w^{ch} the Indians do earnestly cry for." I suppose he means that his own, and others, influence with the corporation has failed. Mr. Dudley, "one of our (two) public agents," is on his way to London

and will put the case strongly. Eliot is sure too that he will commend himself to Baxter as a delightful personality.

THE LETTERS.

I. October 16, 1656.¹

REV^dND AND VERY MUCH RESPECTED IN CHRIST,

Though I am a stranger to you by face, yet in neere bonds by faith, and we dayly meet at the throne of graice, though (to my h(u)mblyng) the wing of your faith in holy Meditation caryeth you thither oftener yⁿ my dull and unreddy spirit can be hailed up unto. Sr, the Lord hath, of late, laide his hand upon me in his fath^rly visitation, w^{ch}, in respect of bodyly paines, hath beene very heavy and bitter, but the Lord, by the precious Visitation of his Spirit, hath made them very sweet, I blesse his holy name; and one meanes w^{ch} the Lord used to sweeten the cuppe was a booke w^h the good Spirit of the Lord assisted you to write, and much of it, in your sicknesse, if not all in much bodyly infirmity—the booke you title the St^s Everlasting Rest. Oh w^t a sweet refreshing did the Lord make it to be unto me! and especially when I came at the bottom, that blessed poynt and patterne of holy meditation.² Now, resp(ec)ted and deare Sr, the sense and savor w^{ch} the Lord hath impress^d on my spirit by these your holy labors, doth imbolden me to make a motion to you, and a request, y^t you would spend the rest of your life in writing practical meditations. The world is full of polemical books and doctrinall, and yourselfe I p(er)ceive have done a good share, but (if I mistake not) there is no poynt more usefull than practical meditation, and no poynt lesse insisted on. If I should guesse at the reason by the glasse of my owne heart, it is because it is too little used, or indeed exp(er)imentally known. Besides, it is a rare gift, especially to follow a meditation to the bottom, and bring it to an issue, and to set it forth for a patterne. Now, it seemeth to me y^t the Lord hath eminently both indowed you with y^t gift and exercised you in y^t grace, and, therefore, it seemeth to me y^t the Lord hath fited and called you to be serviceable to the faith of the Church in y^t kind of service, wherein so few have labored. Give me leave, revndl Sr, to take the boldnesse to p(ro)pound yet more p(ar)ticularly :

¹ Dr. Williams's Library, London : Baxter's Letters, vol. 3, 7^a.

² Part iv. of the S.E.R.

1. What if you should write a practical meditation upon all the chief steps and operations of spirit through the whole work of conversion ?

2. What if you sh^{ld} write practical meditations upon all the severall great acts of faith and grace in union and cōmunion wth Jesus Christ, through the chief acts of vivification ?

3. What if you should write practical meditations upon the chiefe—and most common—conflicts of Christians in the sp(iritu)al war agst world, flesh, and devil, even all kind of temptations, I meane the more obvious ?

4. W^t if you should write practical meditations for the Sab(bath) both p(re)pa(rit)ory—for morning, when goeing to meetinge, when sitting there after the worshipec, for the vacancys in administrations, of sacraments, especially, y^t (of) the b(a)p(tiz)ing. Meditations at returne, at home. A meditation for a minister when his work is done, etc. ?

5. W^t if you should ad meditations in family go(vern)ment and in following or callings ?

Sr, I feare I have beene too bold, but your love I know will take it at the best, and your wisdō will see my meaning and aime. I scribe these lines as I ly on my bed and in great paine. I know you know how to pitty in y^t case. Thus cōmiting you and all your holy labours to the Lord, and beging your prayers, I rest.

Your unworthy fellow labourer
in o^r Lords Vineyard

JOHN ELIOT.

Roxbury this 16th of the 8th. 56.

Endorsee—‘To the reverend his very much respected friend and broth^r Mr. Baxter minister of God’s word at Kederminster in Worcestershire These present.’

II. January 20, 1656/7.¹

MOST DEARE AND HONORED BROTHER,

I was not so glad to receive a Letter from yo^r hand, as sad when I saw y^e contents of it : y^t ye Lord by his visitation should take you off y^t blessed worke of Preaching to y^e Indians, w^{ch} you have beene long engaged in. I know no worke in all y^e world y^t I thinke

¹ Dr. Williams’s Library, London : Baxter’s Letters, vol. iii. 9a.

more highly and honorably of yⁿ yo^{rs} ; and consequently no p'son whom I more honor for his works sake ; and therefore none whose loss or disablement would be more greivous to me ; especially hearinge y^t there is no man left y^t is so well able to manage y^t worke (for want of y^e Indian language) if God should call you off. But we hope y^e Church's Prayers shall prevaile for yo^r continuance and enablement. It is a sad and strange thinge to o^r consideration here, y^t so few of y^e Indians should be wonne to Christ from y^e first plantation to this day. And I should be glad to heare what it is y^t you find y^e greatest stop. As to my wrightings, y^t anything of mine should be usefull to you is matter of thankfullnes to God ; but it is as *his* and not as *mine*. And for y^e wrightings you invite me to, I know not a man whose invitation would have more authority on my mind : and how far God may lead me to obey you, I cañot tell. But indeed my worke is all cutt out to my hands by Providence and necessity : the neerest objects worke most strongly, and the neerest worke is so strictly mine, y^t I cañot so oft looke further as I desire. The p(ar)ticular charge I have is great, and my strength small ; and I may allmost say, for such kind of worke as wrightinge and Preachinge, y^t I doe as much as I can, and am not able to doe more yⁿ I doe. Though I hope I am past controversyes, yet I have begun more practicall Treatises yⁿ I am like to finish, and therefore doe not see any p(ro)bability y^t ever I should reach y^e worke you sett me ! But I much approve of it, and heartily thanke you for y^e motion ; and should most gladly attempt it, if it would please y^e Lord to p(ro)tract my dayes so long, and not force me off it, by puttinge more unavoidable worke into my hands. Though I doubt some will enforce those Arguments ag^t such formes of meditation w^{ch} are coñonly used ag^t formes of Prayer : And I must confess y^t I apprehend so small a difference in y^e cases, y^t I marvaile y^t they y^t are so offended wth y^e one, are not yet, y^t I can heare of, offended at y^e other : I thinke it is but bec(au)s)e, y^e scruple is not yet putt into their heads. And, deare Sir, were it not an excellent worke for y^e Pastors of yo^r Ch^h to joyne in an earnest p(er)swasive to union, to y^e Presbyterian and Congregationall Brethren in England, and to p(ro)pound y^e termes in certaine Propositions. ? Sure it might doe abundance of good. Yo^r Authority is yet great with y^e godly of both Partyes : If it prevailed not with all, it would with many. What hath y^e Church and Christian cause suffered by o^r breach ! And w^t

a pretious mercy would o^r healinge be ! For my p(ar)t I thinke it not hard to find Reconciling Principles, if we could but bringe men to Reconciling dispositions and attempts. And this, Perswasion and Interest and Authority must doe with most ; even more yⁿ arguments.

I have oft brought divers so far together y^t in practicall points they sticke on nothinge but this, whether they should, or should not, take members p(ro)miscuously out of all Parishes ; And for y^e Country they yielded to the negative : And for y^e Citty how easy were it to p(ro)-pound some termes, on w^{ch} it might in certaine cases, and after certaine meanes, be done, to y^e quiettinge of both p(ar)tyes. Pardon this boldness, and accept this returne, from him y^t heartily prayes for yo^r Recovery, and remains

Yo^r unworthy Brother.

RICH. BAXTER

Jan. 20 1656/7.

Endorsed—‘to my Reverend and much honored Brother M^r John Eliot, Pastor of the Church at Roxbury in New England. This present’

III. October 7, 1657.¹

REVEREND AND MUCH ESTEEMED IN THE LORD,

I have received your christian and very loving letter wherein your deepe sense of my infirmity and eminent acceptance of my poore labours among the Indians, doth minister to my spirit matter of great humbling y^t such a worme as I, should be, by my gracious father, set about such a work as should find so great acceptance am’g the saints. The Lord chose an unmeet vessel in the ey(e) of men, when he chose me, that all the glory might ascend to him, finding nothing in the instru-(men)t to reflect upon ; and, furth(e)r, such acceptance of my poore labors doth minister to me great argumente, both of love and thankfullnesse to yourselfe and other of the saints, and especially faithfullnesse in the work—that it may indeed be found, at last, real and effectual, and such as may, in some measure, answer the joys and expectations and acclamations of the holy saints. Next, you desire to know why so few of the Indians are brought in, in so long a time. In the Lord’s time what is done is accomplished. For many years together when

¹ Dr. Williams’s Library, London : Baxter’s Letters, vol. ii. 274^a.

the Indians resorted to houses of godly people, they saw their maner of life and wor(shi)p in families and in pub(lic) also ; where sometimes they would see and observe what they did, but liked not off it—yea, so disliked, that if any began to speake of God and heaven and hell and relig[ion] unto them they would p(re)sently be gone. So y^t it was a receued and knowne thing to all English y^t if they were burdensome, and you would have them gone, speake of relig(ion) and you were pr(e)sently rid of them ; and hence they oft frequented the houses of loose and carnal p(er)sons who did nev(er) speake of relig(ion) to them. But when the Lord put me upon the work, himselfe had g(athe)red a few pore ones against I came, as you may gather out of their confessions ; and when the Lord had bowed the hearts of some he (was) pleased to send his spirit so am(on)g them as y^t more about us did quickly bow and come in, and such as bowed not fled farth(e)r off ; and then this change was eminently observed by the godly, that they oft frequented and loved y^e righteous and godly families and would set religious discourse on foot by their (questions ?), and forsooke the frequenting of loose families. And this course the generality of all the natives in 20 miles space, doe hold to this day, save that of late (by the Apostasy, in p(ar)t, of a Sachem) some are growen worse.

Your loving acceptance of my motion about the poynt of *meditation* : I thank you for it. I am very sensible of your Apologie for a present delay, yet let me be bold to urge a little further.

I know assuredly y^t the heaps of your labours doe not take off, but quicken, your p(er)sonal communion with God. Now what if you should task yourselfe, and charge your owne spirit wth meditation work in such ord(e)r as eith(e)r your judg(me)nt or emergent occasions should put you on ; and when you have beene with God—before your heart be either cooled or div(er)ted—bestow one quarter of an hour in a day to write what passed y^t evening betweene the Lord and your spirit, hereby in a short time you would find y^t this work would (fürtim) be accomplished afore you are aware. P(ar)don, I pray, my boldnesse and foolishnesse, thus to talk.

For exceptions agst forms of meditation (as of prayer), though this giddy age is lyable to p(ro)duce monsters, yet such conceits are not likely : bec(ause) sett and stinted forms of pub(lic) prayers was the exception of the godly, not all formes—*here* some fly out agst all'.¹

¹ Interlined.

Besides, meditation is p(er)sonal not social work, and I have not heard (that I know of) exceptions agst set formes in secret ; but this is obvious.

Your fellow motion about p(ro)positions of mediation betwixt Presbyterians and Independents is a weighty and good matter, but hard to be done by us at this distance. They y^t are neare the mark may better tell how to aime at, and hit, the spirit of the times.

The pith of what follows is this :—

(a) undoubtedly good will to cooperation and union is the chief need—‘the burden of the work lyeth in calming and composing of spirits.’

(b) Eliot is of the same opinion as Baxter that the ‘separatist’ way of forming a Church by calling out ‘the choicest persons of sundry parishes’ is wrong.

“I cannot approve of it. I would not be so dealt by, that if I have one or two or a few jewels in my interest another should come and rob me of them.” The better way is to let them remain in the parochial assemblies and act as salt on their neighbours. This has been his own way with his Indian converts. He has encouraged them not to come out and “joyne to English churches.” “No, rather let them keepe Sabbath and worship together, and the strong help the weak.”

(2) Nevertheless it is necessary “to enjoy Christ in his pure ordinances” and, to that end, to keep away from the sacrament “the ignorant and prophane and scandalous.” But this is not to be so done as unduly to offend and alienate the latter. Let “the godly saints attend to both these works together,” i.e. let them “attend the work of Christ in reforming parochial assemblies”; and, at the same time, let them meet with their minister, as in church covenant, and hold communion together—they and their families—and so enjoy the seals and censures (as need is) together. Apparently such select fellowship of kindred souls is not to take the place of that parochial communion to which all the baptized may come. Eliot speaks of it as something which he had met with before he left England; and mentions Dr. Thomas Goodwin and Mr. Philip Nye—leaders of the Independents—as if, in a preface they had written to Mr. Hooker’s work touching conversion they agreed with him. This passage is important :

“I have known before I came to N.E. in the BB^s times, a company of Christians who held frequent comūnion together, used the

censure of admonition, yea and of excommunication, wth much presence of Christ, only they had not officers, nor the sacraments; and, notwithstanding this their liberty together, they held publik Parochial cōmunion so far as avoyded offence, and interested themselves in all good means for the publik good of the p(ar)ish where they lived. Dr. Goodwin and Mr. Nye have put a pr(eti)ous Epistle before Mr. Hooker's worke touching conversion, where they shew how a cōmon p(ro)fession accepted for Christianity will soone cause conversion, that necessary saving work. Now, in this way of Christians injoying a twofold cōmunion, and that w(it)hout offence, may not p(ar)ochial cōmunion be upheld so as to keepe the whole heape of chaff and corne together, only excluding the ignorant and prophane and scandalous fro(m) the sac(rament) and other pr(i)viledges by the imp(ro)ving the discipline of Christ.

"And, besides this, may not the holy Saints, who are called higher by the grace of Christ, injoy together a more strickt and select cōmunion, unto w^{ch} they may gath(e)r together frō many p(ar)ts of the C(oun)try or City?

"But I am called off. I shall no further trouble you at p(re)sent but cōmending you and all your holy labours unto the Lord, I rest

Your unworthy brother in the
Lord's Vinyard
JOHN ELIOT

Roxbury this 7th of the 8th. 57

Endorsed—"To the reverend his much respected friend and brother Mr Baxter minister of God's word at Kederminster." These present.

IV. Towards the end of 1667.¹

ANIMADVERSIONS ON MR. ELIOT'S BOOK FOR STATED COUNSELLS.

P. 1. [*with one heart*] should not be in the definition of a visible church.

P. 2. [They have power to call officers], they have power to choose those to be *their officers* who were before . . . officers indeterminately. But more fully and properly the officers have power to call them to be a church. . . . The people never give that

¹ Dr. Williams's Library, London: Baxter's Letters, vol. vi. 183^a.

authority which constituteth an officer of Christ . . . Yet it is indifferent whether he first calls them to be *his particular* flocke, or whether they first call him to be *their particular* pastor, as long as there is a mutuall consent, for this appropriation.

P. 4, § 6. [*civilly publicke*] can meane no more but their extrinseck respect to the Magistrates call, and to the Civill state.

Ib., § 7. The members constituent of a Councill are y^e *Pastors of y^t Churches*, whether *messengers* or not, together with *brethren*, acting only as brethren, if need be. . . .

P. 5, § 9. I much agree with you y^t y^e *great end of Councils is counsell* for the concord of many Churches. So BP Usher said to me, y^t in Councils B^{ps} were not properly to governe the Church but to maintaine a comunion of churches . . . but I must adde y^t though congregating in a Councill do give Pastors no authority over one another, or over any absent Pastors, nor any new power over other mens flockes, yet I see not but y^t the Pastors there congregated, retaining still their governing power over their severall flockes, may exercise it *there*, by convenient acts." Acts, e.g., which concern the ordering of public worship, or an act which decrees "y^e common excommunication," say of an Arian, etc. Such acts agreed upon by the Pastors in Council for the good of the Churches fall within its scope—to promote communion or concord—and should meet with obedience. "Concerning the numbers 12 and 24 and the *whole method* here presented" Baxter doubts if the Scriptures cited will amount to a proof that these are of divine appointment; but he thinks that reason combines quite well with Scripture to "present the frame as very handsome and convenient where it may be had, and such as would greatly tend to concord and edification" . . .

P. 33, § 8. The Law of Moses was the Civill Law of y^e Jewes Republicke and y^e priest himsele had p(ar)t of y^e Civill power. But Christ's Ecclesiasticall Lawes are not our Civill Lawes, nor have Councils as such any civill power. I therefore firmly hold (1) y^t no Magistrate is to cut off or punish any man simply because he disobeyeth a Councill. . . . But he must first himself heare and try the cause, and judge accordingly. In some cases a Councill is to be disobeyed."

(2) "y^t Magistrates may take cognisance of offences committed ag^t y^e Church or the interest of Christ, before they come to a Nationall

Assembly. I see no reason but (that) in every church it would do well to have some Church-Justice or Magistrate to keepe peace and order, and to secure y^e civill interest, and punish vice."

(3) "And when a Nationall Councill is sinfully disobeyed, and y^e magistrate too, yet Death may be too great a punishment. The faults against them may be various and require various degrees of punishment. And it will be thought scarce congruous to say y^t *Councils are only for advise*, and yet y^t *those should be suppressed who rest not in their advise*—unlesse y^e Magistrate have tryed y^e cause and found that y^e advice was so necessary as to aggravate y^e offence to such deserts. The *Supream power* in England hath determined of many points of conformity by the advice of a Nationall Assembly, and yet few thinke y^t Nonconformity deserveth death. Its safer doing too little than too much in such cases. But I suppose M^r Eliot speaketh onely of what may be done in such great and necessary cases."

Cap. I. § i. p. 35. "He is too p(ar)ticular and strict in describing y^e Qualification of churches or church-members. For he would hereby shut out allmost all y^e congregationall Churches in England (y^t I have knowne) by imposing uppon them a promise [*to be guided in y^e comon concernments of religion by y^e holy advice of y^e forenamed orders and councils*]: for such stated Councils as he describeth are ag^t their Judgm^t. And though I much rejoyce in M^r Eliot's reconciling designe and frame, yet I cañot be so much for it, as to shutt out all p(er)sons or churches from our Comunion, or from the honor of *Reforming-churches* who consent not, so long as they consent to all things which are of true Necessity." He then goes on to say that "we that have justly blamed y^e Congregationall men for shutting out others by too strict conditions, must not comit y^e fault ag^t them which we have blamed them for." We ought to be content with "the Doctrine of Christ and y^e concordant practice of all y^e primitive Churches," viz. that nothing is required for Church membership but "y^e profession of repentance for sins past, and of assent and consent to y^e baptismall covenant." He follows this oft-repeated statement with some of his oft-repeated implications of it (to the number of ten)—familiar to any reader of Baxter—and winds up with the no less familiar assertion that the exacting of stricter terms has been and still is a prime cause of the heart-burning strife which divides Church from Church and makes peace impossible. After all, however, he found much more to

approve than to criticise in his friend's scheme of proposals. In fact, "as those called Presbyterians in England 8 or 9 years ago and more would gladly" on his terms have united for communion of Churches "with y^e sober and moderate of the congregationall way," "so do they now exceedingly rejoyce to find many healing concessions from New England as are in y^e propositions of your Synod ;¹ but much more would they rejoyce, and take our union as allmost accomplished if this platforme of M^r Eliot's were comonly owned by the brethren of y^e congregationall way."

The letter is signed "I rest yo^r brother Ri. Baxter," but is neither endorsed nor dated.

V. 10 January, 1667/8.²

REVER(E)ND BROTH^r AND DEARELY BELOVED IN CHRIST,

"By a friend I did thankfully receive your animadversions upon that pore little script of mine, the comunion of Churches wherein my poynt is not to dispute men to my opinion—I have no faculty y^t way—but to propose such moderate wayes of mutual condescension of y^t by (which) we might come to such a compliance as to walk together in unity, love, and peace, and be one in o(u)r comunion of Churches, w^{ch} onenesse is (so) desireable in the eyes of Christ as y^t he hath prayed for it 4 times in a few lines of y^t mediatorial prayer J(ohn) 17 . . . give me leave reverend and dearly beloved brother . . . to request of God and you y^t both my heart and yours may act in this case, not like litigants standing on a sea of glass mingled with fire, but like overcomers y^t handle the glasse but leave out and lay by all the fire."

Two points stand out in this letter :—

(1) As against Baxter's judgment, he defends the extreme penalty in the case of persons who obstinately refuse submission to the ecclesiastical and Civil Authority—relying on Deut. 17. 11, 12.

"Upon this poynt the Quakers were put to death here in N.E. —w^{ch} I shall expresse in yese 8 p(ro)positions.

1. Y^e w(er)e not w(it)hin the reach of any ecclesiasticall p(ro)cesse, though we used, *charitative*, w^t ecclesiasticall helpe we

¹ The Synod held at Boston in 1662. See Walker's "Creeds and Platforms of Congregationalism," p. 313 ff.

² Dr. Williams's Library, London : Baxter's Letters, vol. ii. 276^a.

could but no censure. W(ha)t have we to doe to gudg y^m
y^t are w(it)hout ?

2. Y^e first fell under civile p(ro)cesse who determined nothing about y^e opinions but determined the persons to peace and order.
3. Y^e refused and were irreclaimable, even to the shaking of our all, through the infirmity of the multitude and badness of the times.
4. Y^e p(er)sisted so to doe, til it came to ye sup(r)eme civile authority.
5. The sup(r)eme power tooke much pains wth y^m, wth long patience, and p(r)oceeeded by sundry steps and degrees against y^m.
6. The final sentence of the supreme civile authority was, y^t y^e should returne to y^r owne place, out of o^r Jurisdiction in peace ; and if y^e returned hither againe, and make disturbance y^e should be put to death.
7. After a season, y^e did returne againe and make disturbance as formerly y^e had done, for w^{ch} y^e w(er)e apprehended and condemned to dy, upon the former sentence, according to the law of God. Deut. 17. 12 : the man that will doe p(re)sumptuously and will not harken unto the Judg, even that man shall dy.
8. After condemnation a p(ar)don was offered y^m upon y^r submission, but (the)y w(er)e pr(es)umptuously obstinate, and so dyed.

(2) He begs for a kindly acceptance of this, his own opinion ; and, further, of what he has to say with reference to the terms of admission to full Church-membership—"the almost only difference" of any moment between them ! That these terms demand the visible seal of Baptism, annexed unto a visible covenant, is certainly what he believes and practises. That is a principle which he dare not surrender. It marks the essential difference between the visible Catholic Church and the visible Particular Church. Baptism alone admits to the one, a covenant of heartfelt dedication to Christ admits to the other. "And, y^rfore, our praying Indians first combined into a church covenant and yⁿ I did by virtue of my mission unto y^e service of Christ w^{ch} I have frō the Church w^roff I am an officer,

baptize y^m." "In like manner all y^t give up y^m/selves to Christ, and make a lively confession of him, we first admit y^m into the fellowship of the Church and yⁿ baptize y^m." As to the question, who should judge of the candidate's sincerity and knowledge, Eliot both agreed and disagreed with Baxter, who reserved the right of judgment to the officers alone, whereas Eliot, while granting this to be the ordinary rule, reminded him that "believers are not like ordinary people, they are kings and priests and princes in all lands." "No man on earth is (so) fitt ecclesiastically to judge, according to his measure and manner, in a spiritual cause, as a believer." "God and man will have more respect to the judgment of a sound believer yⁿ of an ungodly officer." Thus to give its place to the spiritual judgment of the Church is not to make Church government a democracy. The normal authority of its officers remains untouched. But their authority is not absolute. Church government is by no means an oligarchy. In another paragraph Eliot yields a general assent to Baxter's view of what should be a sufficient "qualification of the cōmunicants." "We doe practise in o^r Church upon as low termes as you doe expresse." This—he seems to say—was partly induced by consideration for the young people. "We y^t have lived to bury the most of the good old generation of p(ro)fessors doe by experience see y^t our youth cañot fill the rouns of y^r farthers, and yet are such as are to be encouraged and received in the Lord. We ourselves were onc(e) young and greene, and it was a wise saying of him y^t s(ai)d—*patres æquum esse sentiunt, nos jam jam a pueris illis co-nasci sumus*. We find use of y^t notion in o^r ecclesiastical societys and cōmunion. The care and wise management of the lambs of the flock, is one 3rd p't of the charge of the ministry, and in some respects the difficultyst. Sure enough it is the busiest p't of the work, to do it well and faithfully."

So much for easing access to the sacraments with a view to ultimate full Church-membership. But he ends on a note of 'no compromise' in the matter of a pure Church. "In our last Synod we agreed to allow degrees of cōmunion . . . and I find it my chiefe difficulty so to argue my heart to be true to Christ and faithfull to the soules of the flock in my condescending to such a latitude; and I find great reason to beare with, and excuse, y^m y^t are most strikt in y^t poynt, and rather encourage yⁿ discourage such, because the streame and multitude are

pr(o)ne to run into such latitude, and y^e be but few y^t have zeale and courage to stand up for the striktnesse of the rule. It is a great wisdom and mercy of Christ that there be some to ballance y^t end of the scale, and stand up to beare witnesse unto y^{se} poynts. It is an unspeakable grace y^t Christ hath dispensed in these times to raise up so many Congregationall Churches to beare witnesse in y^t poynt." "I have now done, and together wth y^s paper am bold to p(r)esent you wth another of my little scripts, corrected, and wth some small additon, and one great point aded, w^{ch} I only p(ro)pose, viz., y^t magistrates should be chosen by the Churches to be members of the Councils . . . beloved S^r, as I doe acknowledge myselfe much obliged to you for your animadversions, I request you to oblige me further, to object still, and let me know how it is reputed among God's people. I have beene over bold wth you. I shall cease to give you further trouble at pr(es)ent. I beg prayers and comit you and yours, and all your holy labors to the Lord, and rest

Your unworthy fellow labourer
in our Lord's Vinyard ¹
JOHN ELIOT.

Roxbury this 10th of the 10th. 67.

VI. 22 January, 1667/8.²

REVEREND BROTHER,

I did very lately write unto you, wⁱⁿ I expressed my thankfullnesse for your animadvers(ion)s on my pore script, and made some returne unto such poynts as you w(er)e pleased to touch. I hope you have received it and y^t I shall not need to send a duplicate.

I also sent you another of the same booke corrected, and in it a Schedule ³ aded in the page 5, in w^{ch} Schedule in the first pag(e) of it—lin(e) 37—I desire you to blot out these words (be mixt, &c). Enough is said wthout these words and these words are lyable to an objection beyond my intent and meaning—w^{ch} is better p(r)esented if any beside yourselfe should have the sight of it.*

¹ This letter runs to three closely written and obscure folio pages.

² Dr. Williams's Library, London: Baxter's Letters, vol. ii. 229^a.

³ This schedule is not in the Bodleian copy.

* also pag. 24 l(i)n(e) 11, after [contributions] put in, [for pious and charitable uses]. Bodleian copy adds: 'to spread and propagate the Gospel to all the world.'

Sr, I desire to be a doeing in the Lords work though I am but a lit(t)le one and can doe but lit(t)le. If I may but stir up and p(ro)voker others to be at work, I account y^t I have done some good. The great want is, the uniting of Gods servants, w(hi)ch, were it attained, you would soone heare that p(ro)mised great voyce saying Come up hither : for the resurrection of the saints is now past (Heb. xi. 19)—As Abrā received Isaak fro(m) the dead, so doe, and ought, we to receive all the godly in Engl(an)d who were bound, th(ei)r throat open, the sword drawen. There wanted only the word, and y^t God alone stayed. Our Indian work yet liveth in these dark times, though it is still a day of small things. Christ is am(on)g us and there are yearly aded unto the Church, and also unto the numb(e)r of p(ro)fessing praying Indians. We greatly need your prayers and doe crave y^m ; and thus comiting your holy labors, and all yours, unto the Lord, I rest

Your unworthy brother
in o^r Lord Jesus
JOHN ELIOT.

Roxb(ury) this 22ⁿ of the 11th. 67.

Endorsed—"for his reverend brother Mr Richard Baxter these present."

VII. 27 March, 1668.¹

REVEREND AND MUCH HONOURED BROTHER,

"I have thankfully received y^r corrected copy with y^e two letters. I shall passe by the most of y^{ors} in this returne, because it containeth not matter of disagreement but of concord ; and therefore requireth only my professed gladnes both for your zeale for unity in times when the common juvenile zeale doth worke all towards exasperations and divisions ; and, also, for those moderate principles w^{ch} are the congruous meanes to so good an end. But these few things in w^{ch} our judgm^{ts} yet stand at the greatest distance I shall select to give you these brieve animadversions on."

1. They are agreed, it seems, in thinking that the work of a minister is first, on the world (to convert and baptize) and next on the Church (to edify and guide) ; they are agreed, too, that "neither the Call of the Infidell World nor of the private members of any Church is necessary . . . to make a minister, but only to appropriate him in speciall

¹ Dr. Williams's Library, London : Baxter's Letters, vol. iii. 74^a.

relation to themselves." But Eliot says that the (New England ?) churches dissent from this. That is, I suppose, they hold that no man can be a minister, though he may be a preacher, unless he has been called by a Church, whether at home or abroad. But, says Baxter, "I fully agree wth you that persons differing in this point may yet hold brotherly cōmunion in the same Church."

2. The second point of difference concerns the power resident in Councils, as to which it is enough to say that Baxter would reserve to them full right to discuss and decide all matters affecting the government of the churches in virtue of the fact that the Councils consist of Pastors and Elders who are never mere delegates of the people. What the people can do is to send occasional representatives when the business in hand is of special interest to them, or they can instruct and desire their pastor to speak for them. Such action of the people through a representative may carry great weight, but it must not be allowed, or be expected, to dictate a decision. Eliot, however, while consenting to this view so far as to exclude the people from arbitrary interference with the administrative power of the Council, urged that the people are the *source* of the Council's power, and ought to be consulted freely, if not constantly, on its exercise.

3. But "passing over many gratefull concessions of y^{rs} w^{ch} tend to our much desired concord, I come next to y^t truly-great difference such as I thought had never been betweene you and me. I beseech you pardon me while I speake freely of the Cause. While I highly honour y^r person, I confesse I read y^r words wth admiration" (i.e. amazement) "as speaking very strange doctrine to me (w^{ch} I must gladly tell you y^e congregationall men here, of chiefe name, are utterly against and are wholly of my mind). Do you indeed think y^t the Catholike Visible Church is not united by a covenant, or that there is no covenant by w^{ch} men are not entered into it? Why, dear S^r, all the Christian World from the Apostles dayes till now, hath taken our very Christianity to consist in y^t covenant w^{ch} here you seem to deny! The Covenant of grace and the Baptismall Covenant is one Christianity itselfe. . . . Deare S^r, my head and heart do scarce differ more from my little finger than the Christian Covenant of Baptisme differeth from a particular Church-making Covenant. Indeed, they may both be sometime joined together, but y^t maketh them not one. A man may at one time be admitted into the Catholike Church

and into a particular Church by this conjunction of both Consents or Covenants. But a particular Church making a Covenant as such never made a Christian, but supposeth y^m made. And Baptisme as such did never make any a member of a particular Church. The Church-making covenant is nothing but the consent of Pastors and People to their mutuall relations and the exercise thereof wth particular respect to one another. . . . One cause of our fractions is that the unity of the Catholike Church and the nature and necessity of Catholike Co^munion is not well understood by the people; but their narrow minds do looke almost only to those little societies where they are p(re)sent. Nay, moreover, y^e Church-making covenant itself doth not need to be exprest at all except *ad melius esse*. No more is required to particular-church-Co^munion but mutuall consent of pastors and people any way signified, though there were never any expresse covenant. If it be but by actuall meeting and co^municating, it is as much expression of consent as is of necessity . . . deare brother, I crave your pardon while I am the more earnest with you in this point because, as I honour y^r worke above (any ?) man's, so it more concerneth you y^t preach to Heathens and Infidels than any man that I know of . . . (lastly) the Relation of a particular church member may twenty times cease; but Apostacy *only* endeth y^e relation of the Baptized. They y^t live in a countray (of w^{ch} there are too many) where almost all y^e ministers are ignorant, or prophane or scandalous, and do therefore scruple stated co^munion wth any of them, may yet be baptized Christians for all y^t."

4. "As to the point of the Bretherens Judging," in which Eliot took the congregational view, Baxter sums up—after distinguishing between "Judicium publicum et privatum, or, (1) the governing Judgment of a Judge by office, (2) the temporary decisive Judgment of a chosen Arbitrator, (3) the Voting Judgm(en)t of a meere co^munity, only in order to concord and consent, (4) the discerning Judgm(en)t of every Rationall Subject" as follows: "The people have no Ruling power in the Admission of members nor in Judging of fellow Co^municants. Nor are they obliged to take any p(ar)ticular cognizance of the satisfactorynes of mens professions and qualifications. Because the keyes are put by Christ into other hands and never into theirs at all. To have the keyes is to be the Governors. Never did any Apostle or other minister of Christ in Scripture (that I know of) aske the consent of the people

before they baptized any. Nor did they ever examine any before they were admitted into their particular cōmunions, nor was the case opened to them for their consent ; but when the key-bearers let any in, y^e people cōmunicated with y^m. But if the pastors notoriously abuse their trust and goe agst y^e Word of God, in doctrine or discipline, the people must use their ' Judicium discretionis,' both for their Innocency and their Concord, and may maintaine them both ag^t such pastors. This seemeth to me so plain a truth y^t I shall not tire you wth y^e needles proofes of it, or wth a more tedious answering of all other objections agst what is here said. These foure are all in y^r paper w^{ch} I shall trouble you with any opposition of, and gladly receive y^e expressions of y^r healing disposition and principles in the rest. And I am far from thinking y^t even these are such as should keep the Church in any state of separation from each other. It is the great weaknes of our Judgm^{ts} and our Love w^{ch} caused, and continueth, our divisions. But I hope smarting experience at last will drive us together, and further our cure. Againe I intreat your pardon of the freedome of my expressions.

That the Lord would blesse your labours (above any mans I know) is the hearty and dayly prayer of

Yo^r unworthy Brother
Ri. Baxter.

Acton neere London,
Mar. 27, 1668.

Endorsed.—'To the Reverend and much honoured Brother Mr John Eliot, Pastor of the Church at Roxbury in New England.'

VIII. 15 June, 1668.¹

REVEREND AND DEARLY BELOVED BROTHER, MUCH HONORED
IN THE LORD JESUS,

Your professed good acceptation of my pore lines and p(ro)posals for a Christian and brotherly compliyanee, and peaceable walking together in the way of the Gospel so far as we have attained, I have with gladnesse received, and hereby I returne my a^c knowledgements of your love with all thankfulnessse. And why may not these and all the rest of o^r differences be transacted with such a spirit ?

¹ Dr. Williams's Library, London : Baxter's Letters, vol. ii. 17^a.

The time is coming wⁿ the sea of glasse shall be handled w(i)thout such intermixtures of fire by such as are overcomers (Rev. xx. 2). Oh wⁿ shall we be overcomers ! Oh y^t the p(re)sent fires of God's furnace might so mollifie and melt y^t juvenile ardor of inconsiderate zeale (of w^{ch} you give a gentle touch) y^t it may no longer be blowne up into such paroxismes as are so prejudicial to peace, so scandalous to the Gospel of peace and love and so contrary to the Spirit of Jesus Christ ! This, this is one of the great *remora's* why Christ delayeth that brightnesse of his coming w^{ch} shall shine downe Anti-Christ into destruction—though withall the very sweet savor of the crosse, the spreadinge of the grace of Christ, the raisinge and exertinge of the faith and patience of the saints, and the multiplications of Gods Israel under these p(re)sent pressures and calamities are no small beame of y^t glorious coming of Christ according to his owne Word “ then shall ye see the Son of Man coming in power and great glory.” The saints' taking of their liberty is a greater effect of the power and glory of Christ yⁿ if it were given them. We stand by in a corner of the world, and admire at the grace of Christ w^{ch} is so illustriously powered forth upon the Saints, and we see the word of Christ accomplished, (so) y^t the adversary standeth and beholdeth it wth amazement and know not how to hinder it.

The poynts you please to bring under p(re)sent animadversion, as remaining under some (appearance at least of) difference are 4. And by y^t time I have done I believe y^e will be of very little consideration, yea, nothing as to hinderance of brotherly comūnion either in the same Church or in the comūnion of churches.”

The four points are :—

1. “ Touching our ministeriall office of w^{ch} I formerly had said that if one thinketh y^t a minister is so made in generall by the P(res)bytery, afore he be called by any p(art)icular church, and, another holdeth y^t ministeriall office and relation is essentially founded in the call of a p(ar)ticular church, where he doth administer, I see not y^t this difference of opinion should hinder such Christians from any act of ecclesiastical communion. . . .

2. You p(ro)pose as a stated qⁿ, viz., whether the members of Councils are only delegates of Churches ? w(here)in, though you are pleased to say y^t we more differ, yet I discern very little difference at all. . . .

4. The 4th and last poynt you animadvert upon is about brethren's Judg(in)g, as you expr(es)s it. W^{ch} poynt being thus st(at)ed and limited, (1) y^t only such as are duely manifested to be believers be admitted to the exercise of y^t power ; (2) y^t they doe not act as rulers but as ruled, in an obediential app(roba)tion of and concurrence wth the sense of the rulers, I doe not see any difference. . . .

3. This is the point which you call "the truly great difference such as you thought should never have been betwixt us," and well you might so say of it if my opinion were indeed such as you here rep(re)sent it. . . . "When I say the Catholik visible Church are not united by a covenant, and therefore a member thereof is not a subject of the seale of the covenant, but a particular visible Church is united by a covenant . . . you collect these two poynts (a) y^t I hold y^t the Catholik Church is not united to the Father, Son, and Ho(ly) Ghost by the covenant of grace ; (b) that the nature and use of Baptism is not to seale up o^r faith and Christianity, but only to seale up the particular Church making covenant. Against these two poynts you do very plentifully and strongly argue, and yet wth a sweetnesse of candor toward me, w(ho)m you take to be entangled in these two errors or rocks.

1. I doe most kindly accept your Godly fervor, and shall (according to my pore model) briefly declare my faith in these poynts. I believe the Catholik Church is united to Christ by faith. They are in covenant wth the Father, Son, and holy sp(ir)it by the covenant of grace ; that this theire covenant estate is made visible by theire professed and visible obedience to the rules of the Gospel ; that the use of Baptism is to seale up this interest. It is the seale of a righteousness by faith, and therefore are we baptized into the name of the Father, of the Son and of the holy ghost, and nothing but apostasy cutteth us off from our baptismal interest in the covenant of grace. I fully concur with you in all this, etc. But the question (as I conceive) is not about the nature, use and end of Baptism but about the visible order of dispensing of Baptism, in w^t order and station the dispenser is in ; and in w^t order and station the subject to w(ho)m it is dispensed standeth.

Againe, touching the covenant (1) there is the invisible covenant of faith, whereby we are all united to Christ ; by w(hic)h we are invisibly united together, also, in the mystical body of Christ, and this state is made visible by our visible p(ro)fession of relig(ion) and confession.

(2) There is a visible political Church-making covenant by w^{ch} we are visibly united into gospel Church-order ; and this is sometimes (viz. in more reformed Churches) more explicit, but in more dark and apostate times more implicate, and app(ear)ing only in some actes of public cōmunion. This visible political covenant may sometimes be made afore the dispensation of Baptism, sometimes together w(i)th Baptism at the dispensation thereof as it was wont to be (and it is like, is still) in the administration of Baptism in England wh(er)e an explicit covenant is expressed at the administration. And (as you truly say) Baptism doth not make the party baptized a member of a p(ar)ticular Church, yea, it presupposeth him to be both a member of the Catholik Church (as you say) and of a p(ar)ticular church too (as I conceive). That the dispensor must be a lawfull minister of the Gospel is agreed on all hands. But in w(ha)t ecclesiastical estate the recipient is to be in, is the only question. . . . whatever the nature, use, and end of Baptism is, yet in respect of its visible and orderly dispensation, it is a Political ordinance, and as the dispensor, so the party to whom it is dispensed must be in politicall order, w^{ch} is only found in visible Church state, not in Catholik Church state. Here I acknowledg is some difference but not such as should hinder o^r cōmunion, either in o^r church administrations or our cōmunion of churches." It is a mere *tantillum*. "Oh y^t the Lord would at last p(er)suade the heart of his servants to meeknesse and patience toward such as differ frō us . . ."

"Thus, rev(er)end and dearely beloved brother, I have finished (my compliances I call y^m rather yⁿ replys) unto your judicious and loving animadversions ; and the God of love and peace be wth you, and blesse all your holy labours, so prayeth

your unworthy broth(er) and fellow labourer,
JOHN ELIOT."

Roxbury this 15th of the 4th. 68.

Endorsed—"For the Rev(er)end Mr. Richard Baxter, minister of the Gospel of Jesus Christ."

IX. October 28, 1668.¹

REV(ER)END S^r, MUCH HONOURED AND BELOVED IN CHRIST,

"Overlooking my let(te)rs, I find y^t in one place you saide you could not consent to the 7th chapter, as being too p(ar)ticular but said not in w^t respects : for w(hic)h cause I returned no answer thereunto.

¹ Dr. Williams's Library, London : Baxter's Letters, vol. i. 55^a.

But because another faithfull and beloved brother, of the Congregationall p(er)swasion hath strongly objected against y^t chap(ter), I thought it might not be amisse to give you so much trouble, among the multitudes of your holy and more weighty labours, as to read ov(er) what I returned in answer thereunto, which is as followeth.

“Reverend and beloved broth(er) in the Lord and kinsman after the flesh. Your Godly expostulations touching the 7th chap of my com̄union of Churches, prop(os)ed w(it)h so much love, faithfullnesse and humility, does oblige me to be very thankfull to you, for your labour of love to me, and especially to the cause of Christ. I account myselfe engaged to a very considerate returne unto so great and weighty questions as you have p(ro)posed.” His kinsman’s objection is to Eliot’s too strict method of sifting the wheat from the chaff, or the regenerate from the unregenerate, and making the Church to consist only of the former. If “you insist on this then, few parishes will afford a competent number to become a church : it may be one or two or three in a parish. . . .” But, in such cases, what is to become of these twos or threes ; and for such parishes who are to choose the delegates to your Councils ? To Eliot’s mind the matter resolved itself into a question of the right relation of parishes and churches to each other. It turned, too, on a stricter and looser conception of the Church.

He puts his answer into six propositions which do indeed clear up his position :—

“pp 1. The Parishes are Churches allready. However corrupted both in matter and forme, etc., there is some accepted matter, and some accepted forme, in their Sab(bath) assemblings to worship God, and in the ministry of the word, and in the ministration of the sac(rament)s, and prayere. This principle we in N(ew) E(ngland) have allways owned and dare not to this day deny it. Hence the work of Christ in Engl(an)d (and otherwhere also) is Church reformation out of the Antich(ris)tian apostasy.

“pp 2. There be many parishes in Engl(an)d, yea thousands through grace, that are capable of a pr(e)sent reformation, especially considering the great light that of late hath broak forth, both by the ministry and by the patterne of Congregationall Churches and by the present pressures. By all which meanes, Christ hath greatly enlightened and prepared the people for church reformation.

“pp 3. If the Supr(ea)m powers com̄and the Parishes to be reformed in their Church estate and ordered into com̄union of Churches,

there would presently be Councils in order, enough to cherish and traine up all the rest, in due order and season, into the proposed frame and order.

“pp 4. If there be a Godly minister, a godly ruling elder and a godly deakon, a good representative, though all the rest be generally weake as to the males ; there may be godly women who are accepted matter of the Church though silent and not vocal matter, and godly youth and servants also.

“pp 5. The orders of Councils, whose care it is to cherish up Parishes into a more reformed rule must transplant and remove (in a way of advice and p(er)swasion) godly and fit instruments fro(m) one parish to another where (th)ey may be of use to reforme the parish into a Church state. Churches ought to deny y^m|selves, to let theire choyse members who are not in office among y^m|selves to be removed to other places where ēy may be of publik service in the Kingd(om) of Christ. And upon this consideration, I believe y^t there be saints in England, holy and well qualified, enough to bespangle all the Kingd(om) over, and to raise every parish in the whole nation to become a reforming Congregation.

“pp 6. The first act of a Parish in giving y^m|selves up unto the Lord in the way of reformation and submitting to be ordered by the councils, doth bring all the members into a state of confirmation, or confirmed members of the Church ; whereby the dore is opened for the free passage of Baptism to theire seed (Gen. 17. 7) but they are not yet hereby admitted into a state of full cõmunion, till some further fit manifestation of a worke in theire hearts be p(er)formed. And though ēy doe, by the guidance of Councils, elect officers, yet upon a strikt debate, only the duely manifested Godly do put forth a fraternal power of voting : the rest doe only consent and app(ro)ve, and what is defective is helped by the guidance of Councils. In these 6 p(ro)positions is contained (in my pore understanding) a plaine and cleare answer and settlement of (so) much of the cause as is contained and couched in your juditious p(ro)position. . . .”

The Parish to be regarded as in some real sense a Church—an inner Church in the full sense consisting of those few or many who gave evidence of a change of heart, or conversion—the use of these under the guidance of the Church council for the further reformation not only of their own parish but also of other parishes to which they might transfer themselves—this in brief was what Eliot advocated—to

which he added in a later paragraph that the Church Council presupposes the inner Church—the Church proper—as its “efficient cause.” In other words, it is a creation of the inner Church, and yet says he (surely with some inconsistency) “seeing the Parishes are Churches I object not if their first act be to choose a Council.” Eliot expresses high regard for the Congregational Churches of England. They have been “dispensations of grace of exceeding great use and benefit to all.” They came into existence when the “supream authority,” or the State, failed of its duty to reform the Parishes. Their origin was lawful and inevitable. But they must not be self-centred. Their chief end should be less their own edification than to convert the Parishes. He calls them to a universal home-missionary enterprise. The Church Councils he recommends are mainly to inspire and direct this. Let the Churches set them up and be guided by them spontaneously, or if the State should take the initiative let not the Churches be offended or slow to obey. And he is sure that the more sincerely Christian they are the quicker will be their obedient response. This is why he would narrow the entrance to the inner Church somewhat strictly. But if some plead for “greater latitude of charity”—so be it. *That* need not be any “impediment of communion of Churches.” The thing is for all to unite in the work of furthering parochial and so national reformation. Such I think is a fair presentation of Eliot’s views as described in the letter which he embodied in his own to Baxter on Nov. 25th, 1668. His last words were laden with sorrow: “Revnd Sr, I shall give you no further trouble at present, and but beg your prayers for me, who am greatly afflicted by the hand of the Lord in the death of my eldest son, a good workman in the vineyard of Christ, my assistant in the Indian work, a staffe to my age. He is in glory, I am still in the body, where I much need the Lord’s special help, to whose grace and guidance I comit you, and rest

“Your unworthy brother

in the Lord’s work

“John Eliot.”

“Roxb(ury) this 28th of the 8th, 68.”

Endorsed—“For the Rev(e)rend Mr Richard Baxter these present.”

(To be concluded in the next issue.)

BIBLICAL GLEANINGS FROM THE FORTHCOMING CATALOGUE OF MY COLLECTION OF SYRIAC MANUSCRIPTS.

By A. MINGANA.

i.

Joel as the Author of the "Book of Wisdom."

THAT the *Book of Wisdom* is not by Solomon is the opinion of most Biblical critics and Christian writers since Origen, the great Eusebius, Jerome and Augustine. On the other hand, all of us know that it is much easier to impugn the supposed authorship of a book by rejecting its accredited writer than to substitute another writer in his place. So Solomon having been rightly rejected as the author of the above sapiential book, another author had to be installed in his place. All efforts in this direction have, however, proved fruitless, as no author so far substituted for Solomon can lay any claim to a shred of documentary evidence.

The above is certainly the case with Aristobulus, the friend of Ptolemy Philometor, whose name has been brought to the front by Lutterbeck; this is also the case with an "older Philo," who is said to have composed a poetical piece about Jerusalem (a great achievement!) and whose name has been put forth by Drusius and others; and this finally is the case with Apollos who, it is contended, may have composed it before his conversion!¹

Let us see if we cannot throw a ray of light on this obscure subject.

In a manuscript of my collection, numbered Mingana Syr. 63,² occurs the following statement:

"The Great (Book of) Wisdom is composed by a man called Joel and not by a prophet."³

¹ See on all this C. L. W. Grimm's *Kurzgef. exeget. Handbuch z. d. Apocr. d. Alt. Test.*, 1860, pp. 16-26; Farrar, "Speaker's Com." *Apocrypha*, i., 412-415; and cf. Charles' *Apocr. and Pseud.*, i., 524-5.

² See p. 164 of my forthcoming catalogue.

³ Or "and it is not a prophetic (*i.e.*, inspired) Book."

I searched all the books of reference, but was unable to find in them anything precise concerning this Joel. Many Biblical and post-Biblical personages were called by this name, but none of them, so far as I know, can be definitely singled out as the author of such an important book as that of the "Wisdom of Solomon." A more fortunate scholar may some day identify this Joel with some degree of probability, as he appears to be a real and not an imaginary man invented for the sake of filling a gap.

ii.

The Authorship of the Harklean Passion Harmony.

The Biblical Version made or rather revised by Thomas of Harkal, and known as the Harklean, is attracting more and more the attention of Biblical scholars; witness the importance attached to it in the recent work entitled *Beginnings of Christianity*, by Kirsopp Lake and Foakes Jackson.¹

In many Syriac manuscripts we find a Passion Harmony of the four Gospels for Good Friday or for the whole of the Holy Week. Some scholars believed that this harmony was a reproduction (with changes in phraseology) of the well-known Diatessaron of Tatian of the second century, or at least under its direct influence. A manuscript of my collection, however, decides the question in a different way and even reveals to us the names of those who arranged this harmony as Rabban Daniel from the village of Baith Bāṭin near Harran, and his disciple Isaac.

The manuscript which contains this information is the one marked Mingana Syr. 105, where we find the following colophon: "

"Here end the lessons for Good Friday, which are harmonised" from the four evangelists. . . . They were harmonised with great care by Rabban Mar Daniel, the man of many lights, from the village of Baith Bāṭin near Harran, and by the diligent Isaac, his disciple."

This precious information should settle for all time the question of the authorship of the Passion Harmony.

¹ *Beginnings of Christianity*, iii., pp. clv.-clxxx.

² See p. 258 of my forthcoming catalogue.

³ Syr. 

WOODBROOKE STUDIES.

CHRISTIAN DOCUMENTS IN SYRIAC, ARABIC, AND GARSHŪNI,
EDITED AND TRANSLATED WITH A CRITICAL APPARATUS.

By A. MINGANA.

FASCICULUS 8.

THE APOCALYPSE OF PETER.

PREFATORY NOTE.

THE following pages give the edition and translation of the final section of the work that passes under the name of "Apocalypse of Peter," "Book of the Rolls," or simply "Clement." The contents of this part of the work are generally not apocalyptic in character but historical, and the task of translating their Garshūni text proved to be relatively easy.

After a few pages dealing with the history, the name and the description of the Antichrist who will herald the end of the world, the seventh part of the Clementine literature ends, and is immediately followed by the eighth part which contains the history of the Apostles and of their evangelisation of the various countries of the earth. Special emphasis is naturally laid on the preaching of Peter. The ministry of the Apostles whose preaching is not intimately connected with that of Peter is dismissed with a short reference which can hardly do justice to their spiritual labours and their high rank as disciples of the Lord. As I have pointed out in the two preceding fasciculi of my *Woodbrooke Studies*, the present document is highly Petrine in character, and anyone or anything not connected with the inner circle of the narrow Petrine orbit, either assumes insignificance or is relegated to the background of history.

The most extraordinary thing that I ever saw in any Christian document is the fact that this marked predilection of the author for St.

Peter has led him to adopt a rather indifferent attitude towards Paul, called by the unanimity of Christian writers "The Apostle" *par excellence*. In a passage found towards the end of the narrative it is said that Peter ordered Clement to put down in writing all that he had taught him and revealed to him. He further commanded him to deposit the book thus written in the archives at Rome. When the book was finished Peter and Clement sealed it with their seals and Peter said : "As God liveth no one ought to divulge these mysteries to Paul or those who resemble him."¹

In this connection I shall not draw especial attention to the fact that in the document Paul always applies to Peter the epithets of "master" and of "teacher," but I cannot pass without some comment the unusual process whereby Paul is sent out by Peter on all his missionary journeys, and has to report to him concerning his doings in each of these journeys. So after having evangelised *al-Adiyōka*, "a town which is in darkness," Paul comes back to Peter who was in Carthage and presents him with a report of his mission which begins : "O spiritual father, my chief . . . and my master."

Following the strain of his anti-Pauline tendency, the author often assigns to Paul a rôle which is, to say the least, too ingenuous and undignified. So he is once given the rôle of a pagan and made to worship and praise the idols before the Emperor and all the members of his court, but when the same Emperor became Christian and noticed the deceitfulness of which he was the victim he complained to Paul of his hypocritical conduct and the latter answered : "I meant in what I did to use a stratagem with you in order that by my soft advice to you the hardness of your nature may be mollified to your advantage !" The outcome of the strange scene was that the Emperor "was amused, and smiling at him, thanked him for the ruse he had practised against him !"

As I pointed out in a foot-note, this subtle conduct of Paul may, to some extent, be explained by the words used in 1 Cor. ix. 20-23. "And unto Jews I became as a Jew that I might gain the Jews. . . . To them that are without law, as without law . . . that I

¹ The Arabic sentence may possibly mean : "As God liveth no one ought to divulge these mysteries (or secrets) be he Paul or any of those who resemble him (= his followers)." The anti-Pauline tendency remains in the sentence whatever meaning we give to it.

might gain them." These sentences cannot, however, remove all the sting from the author's marked anti-Paulinism, and a better explanation of this curious phenomenon may perhaps be sought in the opinion first enunciated by some scholars of the last century who distinguished two social and theological tendencies among the Christian members of the early Church: a tendency towards the teaching of Paul called *Paulinism*, and another tendency towards the teaching of Peter, called *Petrinism*. Traces of these two distinct Christian parties can be discerned in the present Petrine Apocryphon.¹ From passages in the canonical Book of the Acts, dealing with the *Judaizers*, we know that everything did not always go smoothly in the early Church. This is confirmed by a reference to Galat. ii. 11, where Paul writes: "But when Peter was come to Antioch I withstood him to the face because he was to be blamed."

Harder even than all the anti-Pauline sentences referred to above is the accusation brought by the author against the Apostle of the Gentiles of "tampering with books," with special reference to the separate books which contained the profession of faith of each of the twelve Apostles. When these twelve books were finished the text adds that they were sealed with the seal of each Apostle, "beginning with the seal of my teacher Peter, then with that of Mary the mother of light, and with that of Paul *who had tampered with the language of the books.*"

I am not in a position to offer a better explanation than the one I gave above for these unusual attacks upon St. Paul.

I have referred in my foot-notes to some of the sources of the author. So far as the life of Clement, his conversion and his meeting with his brothers and parents are concerned, our thought naturally goes to the well-known Clementine *Recognitions and Homilies*. From the fact that the mother of our hero is called *Mitradora* and not *Mattidia*, as in the Greek recension of these two works, I have conjectured that our text as well as its Ethiopic counterpart are under the influence of an ancient Syriac recension of the story which in

¹ See on this subject Hans Lietzmann in *Sitzungsb. d. Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften* (10, iv., 1930), and Emanuel Hirsch in *Zeitschr. für die Neut. Wissens.*, 1930, pp. 63-76, with the suggestive title of "Petrus und Paulus."

1917 I edited and translated in my *Early Judæo-Christian Documents*.

A recension of the "Preaching of Peter in Rome" or *Prædicatio Petri*, found in an Arabic MS. (dated A.D. 799) in the Library of Mount Sinai, was published by Mrs. Gibson in No. 5 of *Studia Sinaitica*. For some anecdotes of Peter's adventures in the Metropolis the text of our MS. is closely akin to that of this recension.

It is interesting to note that the text of our present apocryphal Clement has been translated *in extenso* by some Ethiopian writer, and placed towards the end of that strange work which passes under the title of *Gadla Hawāriyāt* or "Contendings of the Apostles," the text and translation of which were published by Budge in 1899 and 1901.¹ The linguistic originality of the Arabic text will not be questioned by any Semitic scholar who compares it with its Ethiopic equivalent. What seems to clench the argument against a possible originality of the Ethiopic translation is the fact that in the narrative Clement is given as the author of all the text on pp. 466-526. Indeed all these pages deal with the preaching of Peter, the history of the conversion of Clement and his relatives, and narrate the story of how Clement wrote his book, exactly as it is done in the present Garshūni text. Further, in all this long narrative Clement is more or less always speaking in the first person as this person is better suited to the requirements of a writer in search of historical data.

The Ethiopian translator of this part of Pseudo-Clement's book does not seem to have been over scrupulous in his work. On the contrary he appears to have sometimes exceeded his literary limits of a mere translator, because, among other things, he has completely excluded from his book the first of the two above passages, which are detrimental to the prestige of Paul, and changed the second into a phrase meaning: "for he (Paul) was the eye (*sic*) of all the books."² Evidently these passages shocked him as they would indeed shock

¹ As Budge points out (*ibid.*, p. vi.) the oldest MS. of this Ethiopic work is that of the *Bibliothèque Nationale* and is dated in "the 39th year of Mercy," i.e., 1379 A.D. See also Zotenberg, *Catalogue des manuscrits Ethiopiens de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, 1877, No. 52, p. 53 sq.

² *Contendings*, p. 521. In undotted Arabic characters the change of *ghayyara* into 'ain is not wholly impossible. The Ethiopian translator has, however, omitted the word *lisān* "language" altogether.

any Christian reader, and we only owe their existence to the well-known servility of the Syrian copyists to their original. Syrian copyists are in this respect the best copyists, because they adhere faithfully to their original and leave any other consideration to their readers. But for them we would have missed passages which seem to possess an archaic savour.

A striking illustration of this servility of Syrian copyists may also be gathered from the author's theological view of the Incarnation and the way in which, according to him, the "Word became flesh." I will quote here the following strange sentence which seems to contain traces of a mild form of Docetism.

"And the jealous Lord sent His Son, the mighty Teacher, who came down to the earth and appeared in a covering which He chose to Himself from light, which He materialised and from which He spoke and performed the things which He wished to perform in His world."

That the body of the Christ was a simple *covering* which He Himself *materialised* from *light* is hardly the orthodox doctrine of the Church after the Council of Nicea, but it is certainly a doctrine which has in it germs of an archaic savour.

There are further points which deserve some attention :

1. St. Stephen Protomartyr is given in the document as a nephew¹ of St. Paul. I could not trace the source of this remarkable statement which has been struck out by the Ethiopian translator of the *Contentings*. It is also missing in the Synaxarium of the Ethiopic Church,² and there is no reference to it in the Coptic Jacobite Synaxarium printed in the *Patrologia Orientalis*.³

2. Among the disciples of Paul the author mentions a man called *Zerosus*, about whom I could find no definite information. He is coupled in the document with Dionysius whom I tentatively identified with Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite. As I have remarked in a foot-note "*Zerosus*" appears in the Ethiopic *Contentings* (*ibid.*, p. 520) as "*Protheus*". The variant is probably due to early and undotted Arabic characters.

3. *Nuael* as the name of the angel who served Christ till His

¹ Precisely, "the son of the sister."

² *Book of the Saints of the Ethiopian Church*, ii., pp. 434-435 (edit. Budge).

³ *Pat. Orient.*, i., 268-270.

Ascension to Heaven should be noted, as also the names of the two angels to whom Peter was entrusted : *Akrābil* and *Falwābīl*. I do not remember having seen these names elsewhere. In the Ethiopic *Contendings*,¹ they are the traditional *Uriel* and *Raphael*.

4. I will quote here the following important passage which if not interpolated by a Roman Catholic hand is certainly the most striking testimony that I have found in any eastern book in favour of the Church of Rome :—

“(God) will set up Rome as splendour, light and the right place for holiness, and the faith of its inhabitants will not change nor suffer modification, as it is the true faith.’ And the pure father Peter said : ‘Whichever nation which does not profess the same faith as the faith of Rome is remote from God.’ And he also said : ‘Any Christian whose faith is not identical with that of the inhabitants of Rome, is remote from God, and will have no share with me.’ And (Christ) informed me that He will establish this city as a dwelling-place for angels, and holiness² will not cease in it. Tares will not penetrate into it nor will it be conquered by the Kings of Tares.”

This passage is found in the Ethiopic version³ in the following terms : “(Peter told me) that the faith of the people (of Rome) is the right faith.’ And he said unto me ‘Every Christian whose faith shall not be like unto the faith of the men of Rome at the time when the disciples were gathered together therein shall be remote from God, and he shall have no portion with me.’ And my master Peter informed me that our Lord had made this city to be the habitation of angels, and that hymns of consecration should never cease therefrom, and that no heathen rulers should enter therein ; for this city was intended to be the abode of the saints and the habitation of the bodies of the holy fathers.”

The reader can easily notice that the Ethiopic version lacks two important sentences : “*God will set up Rome as splendour, light and the right place for holiness, and the faith of its inhabitants will not change nor suffer modification,*” and : “*Whichever nation which does not profess the same faith as the faith of Rome is remote from God.*” We may also remark that the Ethiopian trans-

¹ *Contendings*, p. 700.

² Or possibly “the mass.”

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 522-523.

lator has qualified the sentence : "*Any Christian whose faith is not identical with that of the inhabitants of Rome is remote from God*" by adding to it the clause "*at the time when the disciples were gathered together therein*" (i.e., in Rome). Further, he has changed the expression *Kings of Tares*, which generally designates heretics, to *heathen rulers*.

It seems clear to me that the original passage, whether interpolated or not, is that represented in the MS. of my collection, and that the changes in the Ethiopic version are due to the Ethiopian translator who felt it necessary, as in the instance of the two anti-Pauline sentences to which I have referred above, to omit or qualify the compromising words. Neither copyist was a Roman Catholic but, as I have already remarked, the Syrian was more conscientious and servile in his work than the Ethiopian.

An edition with complete facsimile reproduction and full translation of the whole of the second part of the *Apocalypse of Peter* did not appear to me to be indispensable for the right understanding of the Apocryphon. So I contented myself with the translation of the more important section which embraces ff. 154^b-173^a of the MS. As to the text written on ff. 116^b-154^a, and 173^b-185^b, I will only give an analysis of it ; I will, however, give a full translation of all the sentences that appeared to me important enough to warrant such a course. So far as ff. 185^b-194^a are concerned, they contain the testament of Peter to Clement and deal exclusively with early Church discipline and practices. As they deserve a special study and a more detailed commentary I have left them completely for fuller investigation, which I hope to undertake in the near future. The facsimile reproductions of the present fasciculus of the *Woodbrooke Studies* extend only to that part of the text of which a full translation is given, with the exception of ff. 184^a-185^b which contain the two anti-Pauline sentences referred to above, and also the aforesaid passage dealing with the faith of the inhabitants of Rome.

As it is my intention to cease for a moment the publication of apocryphal lucubrations¹ I will quote here two passages from two

¹ Since 1927 I published the following Apocrypha: 1. *Apocryphal works of Ignatius of Antioch* ; 2. *A Jeremiah Apocryphon* ; 3. *A new Life of John the Baptist* ; 4. *Some Uncanonical Psalms* ; 5. *The Lament of the Virgin* ; 6. *The Martyrdom of Pilate* ; 7. *Vision of Theophilus* ; 8. *The voluminous Apocalypse of Peter*.

critics of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, who have specialised in this field of research :

“ Schon im zweitem Jahrhundert waren zahlreiche Sagen über die Schicksale der Apostel, zum Theil sehr abenteuerlicher Art, im Umlauf. Bei der Dunkelheit, welche über der Wirksamkeit und dem Lebensausgange der meisten Apostel schwebte, zeigte sich frühzeitig die fromme Phantasie geschäftig, die Lücken auszufüllen, welche die geschichtliche Erinnerung der Kirche, gelassen hatte. Manche dieser Sagen verdanken ihren Ursprung lediglich dem Streben, die fromme Wissbegierde und die Wundersucht der Gläubigen zu befriedigen ; andere dienen dem Lokalinteresse verschiedener Landschaften und Städte, welche ihr Christenthum gern der unmittelbaren Wirksamkeit eines Apostels verdanken, oder ihre Bisthümer auf unmittelbar apostolische stiftung zurückfuhren wollten.”¹

“ There is no question of anyone's having excluded (the apocryphal Gospels and Acts) from the New Testament : they have done that for themselves. Interesting as they are, they do not achieve either of the two principal purposes for which they were written, the instilling of new religion and the conveyance of true history.”²

Whether the critics of the year, say, 2500, will wholly subscribe to this verdict I cannot say. That it will be slightly modified in favour of some Apocrypha seems to me just possible. Our main task for the present is to edit and translate as many of these uncanonical documents as we can, and leave the duty of studying them more elaborately and comparing them more fully with what we term canonical Books, to future generations. In the year 2500 scholars may possibly be in a position to study both the canonical and uncanonical scripture with a more detached spirit and better equipped minds.

TRANSLATION.

[Analysis and Translation of the Important Passages of the Text
on ff. 116-124.]

“ O Peter, in that day I will show you my power before all nations in order that they may know that I am the Son of the Living God.”³

In that day the heads of men will bow down and worship towards

¹ Lipsius, *Die Apocryphen Apostelgeschichten*, Bd. I, s. 1.

² James, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, pp. xi-xii.

³ This sentence is as usual in Syriac.

the East and the sun will dance with joy. In that day my angels will mingle with the children of men in Jerusalem. The tree of life in the desert will be glad and will rejoice and glorify with the voice of wisdom. I will stretch my powerful arm over my people, and it will cover them as an eagle covers its young with its wings, and all of them will cry aloud with one voice : "Glory be to Jesus of Nazareth, our Lord and our Saviour."

Then the Master, the Christ, our Lord, said to the pure and great father Peter : "Know that creation took place in the month of April, and in that month I raised up the temple of my body on the wood of the Cross, and raised it again from the grave. The deliverance of those who believe in me will take place in that month, and in it they will enter into the Holy City. In it I will display my wonders and in it men will rise from the dead, and the general resurrection will take place.

"In that day I will show the fruits of my grace to those who believed in me, and the fruits of my wrath to those who did not believe in me and contradicted me and worshipped the idols, whose names are *Barakūyār*, *Ṣalāḥ*, and *Fālāḥ*.¹ These idols are set up in the South and were erected by *Jannes* and *Jambres*. My followers will then dwell in *Syria* and in the Holy Land which the children of the wolf had wrested from them.

"In that day the faith of all believers in me will be one, and the dough will be leavened in the short time of three hours and with little leaven. My people will live in perfect happiness and prosperity, and the children of the '*Abūs*, that is to say the children of the wolf, will rail at them no more ; but my followers will taunt the children of the wolf and point out my miracles to them."

And Simon Peter said also (as from Christ) : "In the days to come in which I will deliver my people from the servitude of the son of the wolf and of the wild ass, I will spread peace and security over the earth, pour rain on its dry lands and fill hearts with joy. At that time there will be so much gold and silver that men will care for them no more. When the Greeks² have gone back the *Romans*³ will take

¹ The last two names seem to possess an Arabic termination or to be under Arabic influence.

² *Yaunānīyah* may mean also the Greek language.

³ *Rūmīyah* may also refer to the language of the *Rūm*.

their place. O Peter, when the four names belonging to the four thrones have been completed and their faith has become one, Venus will set and the light of the moon will suffer eclipse, but the sun will shine much more brilliantly than it did aforetime.

[The copyist adds here (fol. 118^b) that he has found the preceding pages written somewhat differently in another MS. and that he was going to transcribe them afresh according to this new evidence. I will omit in this analysis all the text found on ff. 118^b-119^b.] Then Peter proceeds :—

“When my Master and my God finished these words of His, I, Peter, prostrated myself before him, wept for a long time and said to Him : ‘O my Lord and my Saviour, hearken to the supplication of your servant and reveal to me the day on which the accursed Antichrist will appear, and the name of his father and mother, and from which tribe he will spring, and how long his kingdom will endure, and where he will be born and where he will reign, and what are the signs heralding his appearance. Reveal to me these things in order that I may warn the faithful against him.’”¹

Here ends the sixth part of the Book of Clement.

The seventh part of the Book of Clement.

And Jesus Christ the Master, the Redeemer and the Living One said : “Yes, O Peter, the Antichrist will reign over all the peoples of the world and no one will be able to stand against him. His reign will last thirty-five years, and towards its end the sun will lose its light and the moon will darken ; winds will increase and calamities will multiply while piercing and terrifying sounds will be heard from his soldiers. When the day of his death arrives a fiery cloud will rise from hell and burst over his armies composed of *Sabeans*, *Magians*, children of *Kedar* and children of the wolf. Afterwards a second cloud will rise and burst over the Jews and over the idolators who believed in him. A third and intensely dark cloud will then rise from the depth of hell, full of thunderbolts, of fires and of terrifying cries of demons. It will burst over the Antichrist, take his wretched soul and torture it and burn it in the lowest pit. At that time, rise, O Peter, and watch over your children.

¹ Here the copyist adds in Syriac : “O brother-readers pray for the wretched and weak scribe who wrote these lines and for his fathers.”

"This lying servant, the Antichrist, will appear in *Caparnaum* and sit in *Jerusalem* in the house of David. The name of his father is *Wailah* and that of his mother *Lahwā*.¹ He will be of the tribe of Dan ; and he will be born in *Chorazin* and brought up in *Sidon*.² The majority of his followers will be of the Jewish people, and they will avenge themselves on my followers. I will allow them to do so as I allowed the children of the wolf before them. I will enhance the prestige of the Antichrist, and the Jews, together with the *Samaritans* the *Sabeans*, the *Magians*, and the children of the wolf will submit to him and love him.

"He will work the following miracles : he will gather clouds together and bid them send down rain ; he will command dry trees, and they will put forth leaves and fruit ; he will gather grapes of thorns and figs of thistles ;³ he will order the seed of crops to grow and it will grow, the mountains to be flat and they will be flat, the rivers to dry up and they will dry up ; the animals of land, air and sea will obey him ; he will heal the blind, the lepers and the paralytics ; he will walk on the waters, and will cause springs of sweet water to jet forth from rocks.

"The sign which will herald his coming will be the same as that which foretold the flood in the time of *Noah*. Bows of fire braced with strings and arrows of fire will appear in the four corners of the earth. The sun and the moon will darken three days before his appearance, and the mountains will be levelled up, the stones will crack, and the rivers will become dry. One thousand, one hundred and thirty-eight days before his appearance I will send two venerable men *Enoch* and *Elijah* so that they may announce his coming and warn people not to believe in him. One of them already you know, for he is the zealous old man whom you saw on the mountains of salvation⁴ when I showed to you my Godhead.

"In those days if any one says that the Christ is here or there do not believe him.⁵ The Antichrist will reign over the earth the half

¹ This name is from Mingana Syr. 225. M. 70 has *Wailāh*. These names do not seem to me to be original, as they appear to denote the first the Arabic word *wailāh*, "woe!" and the second the Arabic word *lahu*, "destruction." I believe that they may be a literal translation from another language.

² *Saida*. M. 225 has *Ṣaidāniyah*.

⁴ Arab. *furqān* from Syr. *purkūna*.

³ Matt. vii. 16.

⁵ Cf. Matt. xxiv. 26.

of one long week, and if I do not shorten his days, full of all kinds of iniquities, there will be no flesh saved.¹ O Peter, tell your people that if they shall say unto them, 'lo he is inside' let them not go in to him² and 'lo, he is outside,' let them not go out to him. Blessed are you, O Peter, because to you I gave the secrets of my Kingdom.

1 Chapter on the Revelation of the Heavenly Secrets.

[Here the author gives as from a different version the vision of Peter found in the first part of the work.³ I will omit all this section which is given on ff. 124^b-130^b of the manuscript. On ff. 130^b-134^b the manuscript contains another version of the appearance of the Antichrist. I will also omit all this part in the present analysis. The above folios are followed by another version of the different kinds of torments inflicted on different types of sinners (ff. 135^b-137^a). Ff. 137-145^b contain prophetic announcements, by Jesus to Peter, on the state of Christians, on the end of the world and on the punishment of sinners, somewhat similar to those already reported.

On Fol. 141^a occurs the following passage which refers to the day of the Resurrection when mankind has risen from the dead: "Know that as the protection of my people began with a king the first letter of whose name is *Kāf* and he is (. . .) so also the last king who (will protect them) will be a man the first letter of whose name is *Kāf* and he is (. . .). This king will reign over all the world, and he is the faithful and upright king who will spread peace throughout the countries of the earth. He will repair to Golgotha and there he will take the crown from off his head and place it on the spot where my body was crucified for the salvation of the children of Adam. Then will I lift up on high my cross and the crown of my kingdom together with the crown of the king who shall have acted in this way." In the Ethiopic version⁴ a king whose name begins with the letter *Ka* is identified with Constantine.

Ff. 146^a-147^a contain a short speech by the Lord on the seven sins of blasphemy, marriage of a Christian with an infidel, Sodomy, idolatry, communion without faith, and doubt concerning the Divine commandments. After this speech come good advices dealing with

¹ Matt. xxiv. 22.

² Matt. xxiv. 26.

³ In fasc. 6 of my *Woodbrooke Studies*, mostly on pp. 228-241 in B.J.R.L. (1930).

⁴ *R.O.C.*, 1913, p. 74.

the Eucharist and the Mass at the end of which the Christ (fol. 150^a) promises to seal the book with the seal of the Holy Spirit and to write it with the pen of light of which He made use in writing the tablets of the ten commandments promulgated by Moses. Then follow some general advices to Peter, after which on fol. 151^b begins the section which I translate below and of which I give facsimile reproductions. From this section I omit the first three leaves which treat of a vision of heaven and of the Ascension of our Lord into it, witnessed by all the Apostles and the Disciples (ff. 151^b-154^b) and will begin my full translation immediately after this vision (fol. 154^b).]

TRANSLATION.

And when the doors of heaven were closed we all awoke on the Mount of Olives. We remained there and at sunset we prayed in all the places from which we had seen the Lord ascending to heaven. We directed our prayers towards the chariot with the pavilion in which our Lord drove up to heaven to the glory of His majesty, and it was in the East, the actual direction of our prayer.¹ Then we descended from the Mount of Olives and went to the dwelling of the Lady Mary, the mother of light, and we narrated to her all that we had seen. The Lady used to vie with us in her revelations to us as from the Lord concerning all things that gladdened us. We were pleased with her words to us upon the happenings which we had witnessed, and our joy increased and our hearts took courage. Our souls were also illumined, and around us were divine gifts and spiritual favours; and we dwelt with her.

Every day I gathered together the Disciples and ascended the Mount of Olives morning and evening to pray thereon. Three days after the Ascension of our Lord into heaven we came together and erected an altar, and on that day *James*, whom our Lord the Saviour called his brother, offered the sacrifice for us,² and all of us partook of it. On the tenth day we assembled in the holy Chamber of Zion and stood up at the time of the mass, and all of us prayed to the Lord

¹ On the East as the direction of prayer for the Christians of the East, see my edition of the "Apology of Timothy" in my *Woodbrooke Studies*, vol. ii., p. 30.

² The sentence used may mean in the ecclesiastical language "he said the mass for us."

and implored Him to hear our supplications. While *James* was invoking the Holy Spirit to come down on the sacrifices¹ we beheld tongues of fire shining from heaven and coming down on us. One tongue from them fell on each one of us, and each of us spoke a strange tongue, the tongue of the country and of the town to which² our God wished to send us with His help.

Each of us spoke, therefore, the language of the country assigned to him by lot. Then I Peter rose up³ in the middle of the company of the brethren and said to them : "These are the tongues which the Lord promised to send." Our news reached everywhere on account of our strange and foreign pronunciation, and angels in form of men appeared to the inhabitants⁴ of Jerusalem in order to allay their fears, and said to them : "O people, fear not the strange words these men are uttering and saying ; that which emanates from them is a gift from God to them, and His grace that He has conferred upon them." Among the inhabitants of Jerusalem were men of knowledge and wisdom who said : "We also saw signs from the Most High God coming down on these men when they were⁵ assembled in the Chamber of Zion. We knew them before because they are from us and related to us, and we know that they knew no other language save Hebrew, but when the grace of God came down on them lo they speak Latin,⁶ Syriac, Greek, Palestinian and various other languages." Seven thousand men subscribed to these words and said : "We saw these signs like unto tongues of fire coming down on the Chamber of Zion."

Groups of Jews, however, contradicted⁷ this saying and denied that which had been uttered by the aforesaid men and strongly contended⁸ with them. Serious conflicts were about to break out in *Jerusalem*, because men bore arms one against another, and divisions occurred among them ; those who had not witnessed the favours of God denied them, and gave the lie to them, while those who had seen and witnessed these happenings testified one and all to their truth, and since they had seen our Lord being crucified, their faith

¹ Allusion to the *Epiclesis*.

² The author uses here the verb *waḳa'a*, "to fall," which is rather curious.

⁵ Read *kāna*.

⁷ Read *khūlaḥa*.

² Read *al-lati*.

⁴ Read *sukkān*.

⁶ Arab. *bir-Rūmīyah*.

⁸ Syr. *neṣa*.

was renewed¹ by the spread of such tidings. They came to us, therefore, and embraced our faith.

When I noticed this discord that had occurred from the very beginning, I implored my Lord and my God to grant His peace, harmony and unity to all of them and to quell their contentions. My Lord and my God heard my prayers, and they desisted from the path they were following.² Then the angel of the Lord came to me and said to me: "Arise, O Peter, and go up by yourself to the Mount of Olives, and open the leaves (of the book) given to you by your Lord and meditate upon their contents." And I went up to the Mount of Olives on the Monday after Pentecost, and I was overshadowed by a cloud the brightness of which was like unto that which had overshadowed us at the time when our Lord ascended into heaven. I found there the angel whom I had seen the first time, and he said to me: "O Peter, lift up³ your head to heaven." And I lifted up my head and I saw a cloud moving as quickly as the lightning and spreading a dew that exhaled a perfume similar to that of the Tibetan⁴ musk. And the gentle rain (that came out of the cloud) resembled dew which spread itself upon the dwellers of the graves. I saw also all the spirits (of the dead), which moved by the grace and favour of God, rejoiced and said: "Blessed are we because our God delivered us and saved us by His grace from the snares of the cunning and accursed *Archon*."

Then the angel to whom I was entrusted—my Lord and my God had ordered this angel to accompany me⁵ and to teach me all that had happened from the beginning in order that I might write it down with accuracy—said to me: "Since the Archangel *Gabriel* announced our Lord the Christ to the Lady, the mother of life, I, together with another angel, was entrusted with the task of serving

¹ Read the verb in masc. sing. The feminine form used here may be under the influence of a language (Syriac or Greek, etc.) in which the word "faith" is feminine.

² All the above narrative dealing with Peter and the rest of the Apostles on the Mount of Olives, the descent of the Holy Spirit and the disturbance that occurred in Jerusalem, etc., is found in more or less similar terms in the Ethiopic work *Contendings of the Apostles*, pp. 475-477 (edit. Budge).

³ Read *irfa*.

⁴ *Tunbuti*. Evidently in the author's time the Tibetan musk had a great commercial value.

⁵ Read *mulāzimuhu*.

the body of our Lord during the time He would live on the earth. That body which He took for His eternal covering holds in its hand all that there is in heaven and on earth and will, in the day of judgment, judge all the children of Adam." And he added : "The angel who is with me in all my service is called *Nuael*. It is we who appeared to *Joseph* (and told him) to take (Jesus) to *Egypt*, and it is we who ordered him to come back to *Jerusalem*. We ceased not to serve Him till He was lifted up on the wood of the cross. It is I and my companion who kept watch¹ over the tomb, rolled the stone away from it, wrapped together the napkin and the linen clothes² and placed them near the sepulchre. We did not leave Him till He ascended into heaven."

Then the angel said to me : "O Peter, open the book." And I opened the first book, and all the town of Jerusalem was illuminated with its light while I was standing and reading it.³ I heard a voice from heaven calling me : "O Peter, understand that which we have entrusted to you and act upon all our secrets hidden in this book, and in its seventh⁴ part, which we have confided to you. You are the repository of my secret, and I have called you the stone upon which my churches should be built. A stone is a solid foundation, and that which I built no one is able to demolish, and if it is affected by any damage, I will promptly repair it."⁵

"Let your preaching, your call to faith and your evangelisation be first in *Jerusalem*, in My name, and also throughout all the coast and foreign lands. I will show you what to do, and will disclose to you the laws and prescriptions which you will enact in order that all who believe in me may know them and act upon them. Know that I have revealed⁶ in the eight books⁷ which I have confided to you all that is necessary ; make, therefore, their contents known and let

¹ Read *hāfidain*.

² John xx. 7.

³ This sentence is badly worded, but its meaning seems to be clear.

⁴ Add *minhu*.

⁵ Something resembling the above narrative is also found in the Ethiopic work, *Contendings of the Apostles* (*ibid.*, pp. 477-479).

⁶ Lit. "written."

⁷ The author is evidently referring to the present book of Clement or *The Apocalypse of Peter*, which is divided into eight parts. The Syriac *Book of Clement* is also divided into eight parts. See Mingana Syr. 12, ff. 1-73^b, described on pp. 45-46 of my forthcoming catalogue.

them be near at hand.¹ Judge all those who deserve judgment, but judge with justice and equity. Promulgate the judgment which you will deliver with strict orders, and all those who will obey you will obey me, and all those who will disobey you will disobey me. Whatsoever you shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven.² Through you I will show wonderful signs and miracles which no one will be able to describe. I will place in your hands death, life and the power of healing from all diseases. At the mere motion of your lips demons will take flight, and all that which you ask me will forthwith be granted.

“Know, O Peter, that you will repair to the city of *Antioch* and that you will preach the Gospel therein. You will proclaim throughout its lands the baptism for the forgiveness of sins; and from thence I will send you to wheresoever it pleases me. As to these eight books, hide them and do not disclose their contents. Keep their purity and allow nobody to read them save those who have been chosen and found worthy of the service of my holiness, and those who have followed you and whose faith and belief are similar to yours, and those who are steadfast in pious works and in prayer and fasting, and those who are worthy to come before my body and my blood which I commanded you to have in your midst as a remembrance³ of me till the day of the Resurrection. If you are satisfied with their conduct I also will be satisfied with them and will continually help them, and the mantle⁴ of my secret⁵ will not cease to be continually about them till the day of the Resurrection.”

*A Chapter on the preaching of the holy Gospel by the twelve Apostles, on the miracles that they will perform, on what will happen to them and the way in which they will be murdered and in which they will die.*⁶

When my Lord finished these words and the cloud moved away, I and the two angels who accompanied me wheresoever I went descended from the Mount of Olives and came to *Jerusalem*. I hid

¹ Lit. “put them in your hands.”

² Matt. xvi. 19.

³ Read *tidhkāran*.

⁴ Lit. “cloud,” if we read *ghamūmah*.

⁵ Or “mystery.”

⁶ This chapter seems to be misplaced, because there is in it no mention of any miracles performed by the Apostles nor of the countries which they evangelised, with the exception of a few towns near the coast. This evangelisation will occur in the section that follows this chapter.

the eight books as my Lord had ordered me, and apprised my brethren thereof. We all praised the Lord who granted us to preach His message in all towns, and we repaired forthwith to the coast and called men to the faith. First we proclaimed the holy Gospel in *Jerusalem* and then we went to the sea shore to call people to the faith. The first town of the sea shore which we entered is called *Ba-Joppa*,¹ then '*Āmūs*'² and *Lydda*. I forbade the people who embraced the faith to eat anything that was prohibited in the Torah and that was made unclean by the venerable Moses. And those who entered into the water of baptism did that which I prescribed to them and did not contradict it.³

After this the Lord revealed to me through his angel *Uriel*: "I will abrogate the old Law and renew your new Law," and while I was one day praying alone and away from the sight of men a cloud of light overshadowed me, and from it came a sheet like a net stretching from heaven to earth.⁴ That net contained all the four-footed beasts of the earth, the clean and the unclean, the fish of the sea and the fowls of the air. On the table inside the sheet was something like a pig. A voice called me from heaven saying: "O Peter, arise, slay and eat." And I saw a finger of light coming down from heaven and stretching towards the place where was found the image of the pig. And I said: "O Lord, I will not slay or eat an unclean animal." And the voice called me saying: "What God hath cleansed no one can make common." Then the finger was lifted up and the same voice was heard again with the same words—while the finger was rising and falling on the pig. Then the finger rose and the voice repeated the words three times, and the luminous finger did not cease⁵ to come down from heaven on the body of the pig and cover it completely. When at the third vigil the finger rose from the body of the pig, the sheet also rose up to heaven while the table was in the middle of it.

I remained then in my place pondering over this event and bewildered. After that I spoke to my brethren of what I had seen,

¹ Why is the prefix *ba* before Joppa?

² Is it *Emmaus*?

³ All this narrative is found in more or less similar terms in the Ethiopic work *Contendings of the Apostles* (p. 479), and so also in the case with the vision of Peter which follows.

⁴ This vision of Peter seems to be inspired from Acts xi. 5-10. But why the deep discrepancies in the two narratives?

⁵ Read *yazal*.

and proclaimed the faith as written in the eight books. I baptised men who had turned from idolatry in the water of baptism and in the name of the Father, of the Son and of the Holy Ghost¹ and I commanded them to fast, to pray and to give alms. I made lawful to them all kinds of food as the Lord had ordered me, and commanded those who were willing to give up (the old custom) to follow me.² I allowed them to sell all their real property and their estates and to bring the (money thus realised) to me in the midst of the community. I Peter was the one who was entrusted with the management of their possessions and with their distribution among those believers and those children of baptism who were poor and needy.³

I went then to *Tyre* and *Sidon* where I preached the message,⁴ and (the inhabitants) agreed to purify religion through the Christian faith and were baptised in the water of baptism. They received the knowledge of the Lord⁵ and were imbued with the spiritual grace of the Spirit. They were strengthened by the wisdom of the laws which I enjoined⁶ on them, and they accepted the ecclesiastical prayers which I prescribed⁷ for them, and they did not infringe them in anything because our Lord, our God and our hope in this world and in the world to come was dwelling in them.⁸

The eighth part of the Book of Clement in which he will narrate his story, that is to say the story of this disciple⁹ of weight,¹⁰ Clement, the pupil of the great master, the shining, bright, pure and spiritual star, the owner of the great secret, the faithful Peter, the rock, on whom be our best greetings.¹¹

While our venerable father Peter was walking one day on the

¹ The names of the Trinity are in Syriac.

² The last sentence is badly worded and its meaning is doubtful.

³ All this is also found in the Ethiopic book, *Contendings of the Apostles* (*ibid.*, pp. 480-481).

⁴ Prefix the article.

⁵ A Syriac word.

⁶ Read *fawwadhtu*.

⁷ Read *faradhtu*.

⁸ Here the copyist adds in Syriac: "O brother-readers pray for the wretched and weak (man) who wrote these lines and for his father and mother."

⁹ Syr. *sheliha*.

¹⁰ Or "of tables," *sic codex*.

¹¹ This story of Clement is also found in more or less similar terms in the Ethiopic work, *Contendings of the Apostles* (*ibid.*, pp. 481-490) where it immediately follows the above narrative.

shore of the sea of *Antioch*, together with a company of the Apostles of our Lord, *John*, *Philip* and others and also with some of the seventy disciples, he saw me Clement, standing near the sea and weeping and wailing, because of the calamities that had befallen me since the day I had left¹ *Rome*. I was naked and covering my nakedness with the water, because I was shipwrecked and the waves and the winds had cast me on that part of the coast. And the brethren said: "O Peter, you must know the history of this young man." And my master, the great father Peter, came to me and said to me: "Why are you weeping, O young man? Who are you? Who are your father and mother? Tell me, O my son, your story in order that I may know it." And he spoke to me in Latin and in the dialect used by the inhabitants (of Rome).

And I said to him: "And who are you, O my lord and master? My soul has truly revived by what you have said to me. Three days have I been standing in this place and no one has spoken to me in my language save you, and since I left *Rome* I have not met with anyone speaking its language except you, and during these three days in which I have stood here in this place no one has asked me my story except you,² and no one can understand that which I say to him." And the master said to me: "I am Peter, the head of the disciples of Christ." And he narrated to me his story concerning the message of the Christ our Lord, that is to say the Gospel. And God inspired my heart with the knowledge that his words were true and my soul glowed with the strengthening contact of the Holy Ghost.³ And I believed in Him and in His miracles and was immediately baptised by father Peter in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost,⁴ and was marked with the *ṭaibūth*,⁵ that is to say

¹ Add *min* before *Rome*.

² The sentence is badly worded, but its meaning is clear.

³ The following story of Clement and of his meeting with his parents and his brothers is mainly based on the well-known *Clementine Homilies and Recognitions*, various versions of which are found in many languages, especially in Greek, Latin, Syriac and Arabic. In 1917 I published an independent Syriac text of the story under the title "A New Life of Clement of Rome" in my *Early Judæo-Christian Documents*. It is not my intention to discuss here the merits or the demerits of the story. For some conclusions that appeared to me at least possible the reader is referred to this publication.

⁴ The names of the Trinity are as usual in Syriac.

⁵ The Syriac *ṭaibūtha*.

holy Chrism, which our Lord had confided and given to him and which he kept.

He was very pleased with me, and so also were those who accompanied him. He taught me the prescriptions enjoined on those who believe in Christ and he made me his secretary. He disclosed to me the secrets which have been described above, and I wrote them from his dictation and kept them with me. He also confided to me the books, that is to say all the leaves which were with him and which had been written by the hand of Christ, and he made me his confidential secretary to the exclusion of the rest of the disciples, among whom were my brothers *Faustus* and *Faustinus*,¹ a fact of which I was not aware. And he made me acquainted² with his secrets in the same way as the Christ had done with him to the exclusion of others when He had noticed the purity (of his conscience).

When, therefore, this father saw the purity of my conscience he delivered to me all that the Lord Christ had confided to him alone. I became, therefore, his scribe in Latin and in Greek. My Lord Christ had not yet revealed to him my story nor from whence I had come. He did not ask me any questions concerning this affair till a long time after, when he was on the point of repairing to the town of *Laodicea*, and this happened after the Lord had chosen *Saul*, who is called *Paul* the Apostle. On a certain day *Paul* was proceeding to the city of *Damascus* for the purpose of destroying the Churches of God and driving away the believers found in it, and the Lord appeared to him on his way and blinded him. Thereupon *Paul* said: "Who are you? Tell me." And *Paul* repeated his question "Who are you?" a second and a third time. And the Christ said to him: "Saul, Saul, why do you persecute me and contradict me?" And *Saul* said to Him: "Who are you, O my Lord, that I may believe in you."³ And the Christ answered: "I am Jesus of Nazareth whom you are persecuting."⁴ And when *Paul* believed, our Lord Jesus Christ

¹ The text has *Kaustus* and *Konstantin*, but the variant may be explained through undotted Arabic characters where the letters *fā* (f) and *kāf* (K, C) are graphically similar and distinguished only by extraneous dots placed above them. Below the name written here as *Konstantin* (Constantine) appears as *Kustina* (Faustinus).

² Read *khāzinan*.

³ All this is naturally taken from Acts ix. 1-10.

⁴ Here is a question: "And then *Paul* said," the answer to which seems to have been omitted by the copyist.

ordered him to go to *Damascus* to a disciple called *Ananias* who would restore his sight for him.

After this I told him my story and all that had befallen me, and revealed also to him the story of my mother and of my brothers. I must now narrate faithfully my (subsequent) story in order that the faithful may know¹ the abundance of the grace of God to us, because His power and His might assembled us and brought us together, and revealed us one to another after a long and protracted separation :

My teacher and spiritual father was one day in the town of *Aradus*,² one of the dependencies of *Laodicea*, and while he was walking in one of its streets he saw a modest woman standing near the door of a house soliciting alms. The teacher said to her : " O ³ woman, why are you soliciting alms ? I see that you are young enough and strong enough to work for your living, and that you are able to serve and earn what is sufficient for your livelihood." She said to him : " O teacher and venerable man, if you knew the state in which I am and were acquainted with my story and my affairs, you would have implored the Lord to take my soul through the death of my body so that I might find rest from the wretchedness, fatigue, poverty, need, tribulations, and misery that have beset me." And her tears fell on her cheeks.

And the teacher said to her : " And what is your story, O woman ? " And she said : " O venerable man, I am a woman from the great city of Rome and from the daughters of Kings. I had a husband of noble descent called *Costonius*,⁴ by whom God gave me three sons,⁵ the eldest of whom was named *Faustus*,⁶ the middle one *Faustinus*,⁷ and the youngest *Clement*. In my sleep I dreamed a dream, the interpretation of which necessitated my going to sea in a boat in order to repair to the island (*sic*) of Athens where I could study philosophy and wisdom. My eldest son *Faustus*⁸ and the middle son *Faustinus*⁹ accompanied me. While we were travelling

¹ Read *liya'rifū*.

² *Ar'awād* (*sic*). The name is correctly spelt below as *Arwād*, about which see *Yāḳūt* (*Mu'jam al-Buldān*, i., 224).

³ Read *'aiyatuha*.

⁴ This is possibly a copyist's error for *Faustinianus*. The mistake could have easily arisen through undotted Arabic characters. See what has been said above about *Faustus*.

⁵ Read *banīn*.

⁶ Text *Kaustus*.

⁷ Text *Kaustina*.

⁸ Text *Kaustus*.

⁹ Text *Kaustina*.

on the sea winds blew on us from all directions, and stirred the waves of the sea and caused the captain to lose control of the boat, which was driven by the winds in a direction other than that which we had intended to pursue. Then the boat broke up and I found myself on a floating plank, which after a time cast me on this coast. I do not know what happened to my children, and for two years I have been sitting by this door, in a bewildered state, begging my bread. Do not blame me, therefore, O venerable man, for the state in which I am."

And the teacher stood before her for an hour pondering over her story and amazed at her affair. Now the teacher had previously sent two disciples to *Laodicea* to transact urgent business that he had there. When they came back to the town of *Aradus*¹ they sat down on their way near the gate of the town, and they rested their backs against the wall and began to talk in such a way that the woman who solicited alms was able to hear them. Their conversation was to the effect that one of them said to the other: "My story is very strange but I will tell it to you, O brother." And he said: "O brother we have been the disciples of this saint for many years, and we do not know each other's story nor in which town each one of us was born." And *Faustus*² said: "I am one of the inhabitants of Rome and related to the Emperor. My father was called *Christonius*³ and my mother *Mitradora*.⁴ I had two brothers one of whom was *Faustinus*⁵ and the other, the youngest, was called *Clement*.

"My mother dreamt a dream the interpretation of which necessitated our going to the town of *Athens* in order that there she might learn wisdom. We put to sea, therefore, I and my mother and my brother, and we left *Rome* because of her. She took me and my brother with her, and she left the youngest brother with my father. When we put to sea fierce winds blew on us and our boat

¹ Here *Arwād*, the correct form of the word in Arabic.

² Text *Kaustus*.

³ The name is given above as *Costonius*.

⁴ This name brings the narrative into harmony with the early Syriac recension of the life of Clement which I edited and translated in my *Early Judeo-Christian Documents*, 1917, pp. 6 and 10 sqq. The Greek and Latin recensions call her *Mattidia*. See the Clementine literature in *Pat. Græco-Latina*, i, 1359 and ii, 33. In the Ethiopic *Contendings* (p. 486) she is also called *māṭrādōra*.

⁵ Text *Kaustina*.

broke up. I was cast on a coast from a floating plank, and I do not know what happened to my mother and to my brother after me."

And his companion said to him: "Were it not for my fear that you might deny it, I would have said that you were my brother; because I also am from the inhabitants of Rome and my story is identical with yours till the time when our boat broke up on the sea."

When the woman heard their conversation she recognised from what had happened¹ to them, that they were her children. She sprang up from her place and threw herself on them² weeping and saying: "As the Lord liveth both of you are my sons, and I am your mother *Mitradora*." She narrated to them her story and gave them proofs by means of which they recognised her. They did not cease to cling with affection one to another and to kiss one another's cheeks. And I *Clement* was at that time in *Laodicea*. And they became possessed with an indescribable joy, gladness and exultation.

Then they arose all of them and went to our teacher Peter, and their mother³ said to him: "By the truth of the One whom you worship, O venerable and blessed man, these two disciples are my sons, and I am their mother." And she narrated to him all that had happened. And the teacher was very pleased with her story and said: "I implore the Lord who showed you your two sons and caused you to meet them to grant that you meet also with your beloved ones who still remain absent, namely their father and brother."

As for me I had gone to the town of *Laodicea* where I had finished my business and come back to *Aradus*. In the meantime the Holy Spirit had⁴ inspired the teacher Peter to ask me about my story and my country. And he said to me: "O my son Clement, you have been with me for two years in the service of Christ, and I did not ask you about your country and your story. The Holy Spirit has inspired me to ask you concerning all this. By the truth of Christ tell me, therefore, your story and narrate it to me in full from beginning to end."

And I said to him: "I am from the city of Rome. My father

¹ Lit. "signs."

² Read '*alaihima*.'

³ Read *ummukuma*.

⁴ The author uses "Holy Spirit" in feminine as it is done in early Syriac literature.

was of noble descent and related to the Emperor. I had two brothers one of whom was called *Faustus*¹ and the other *Faustinus*² and we had a noble born mother who was endowed with wisdom, sound judgment and chastity. She dreamed a dream which necessitated her going to sea in order to repair to Athens and there learn wisdom. My two brothers *Faustus*³ and *Faustinus*⁴ accompanied her in order to look after her. This happened twenty years ago, and we have not had any news from them since they went to sea. At that time I was a child, and when I reached the age of puberty I went also to sea in order to proceed to *Athens* and there hear some news about them. Our boat, however, broke up and the sea cast me on the coast on which you saw me and noticed that I had been shipwrecked."

My two brothers had then gone to town on business, and when my mother heard my story she threw herself on me and said: "By the truth of the God you worship you are my son and I am your mother." Then she said to the holy teacher: "This is my youngest son Clement mentioned by the two brothers in their narrative." The teacher Peter himself went then to town in order to seek my brothers whom he brought back. When they saw me speaking to my mother they were displeased because since we had been fellow disciples I had not spoken to a woman. And they said to the teacher: "Do you not see Clement speaking to our mother?"

When their mother heard their words she embraced them all and wept bitterly and with great emotion. When my brothers recognised me they threw themselves upon me, embraced me and held me fast, and my mother did likewise. Then they said (to Peter): "This is our brother and this is our mother; God brought us together through your invocations and your prayers, because He wished us to learn Christian philosophy from you, O spiritual father. We know that Christ answers your prayers and grants your requests. We beseech you now to bring us and our father⁵ together. Ask Him to reveal to you whether he is dead or alive, because if you pray the Christ our Lord for us He will answer your prayers."

And the teacher Peter said: "I shall pray the Christ our Lord

¹ *Kaustus.*

⁴ *Kaustina.*

² *Kaustina.*

⁵ *Read abina.*

³ *Kaustus.*

Jesus of *Nazareth* to send your father to you dead or alive. (If dead) I will implore Him to raise him from his grave and bring you together here near me." And the teacher arose, straightened his feet, looked towards the east, uncovered his head before heaven and recited the prayer which he used to recite in secret and said :¹

"I implore you, O my Lord Jesus Christ, and I beseech you O magnanimous, powerful, gracious, kind, merciful and generous Master, O mighty and living Lord who created the created beings ; who fathoms the innermost part of the hearts ; who brings scattered friends together ; who delivers whom He wishes from the pangs of separation ; who joins lovers together after their long loneliness. I pray you, O my Lord and master Jesus Christ who came down from the heaven² of His holiness, and became incarnate from the elect Virgin Mary in order to save the sinners³ ; who gave me the keys of heaven and earth so that I should absolve, loose or bind the sins⁴ ; who said that if we believed in Him we would do greater miracles than those which He performed among the Jews⁵ ; who raised *Lazarus* from his grave after four days ; who quickened the daughter of *Jairus*⁶ and the daughter of the widow ; who is worshipped as one, and is the good hope of all those who are lost (to their friends). Hear my supplications and answer my prayer. Do not refuse me but hearken to me. Help me and have pity on these my disciples and bring them together. Send their father to join them dead or alive, because you are their Lord and you alone are their Master, and they have no other (God) to have pity on them. Answer, therefore, O Lord, my prayer, my supplications and my earnest request, and be gracious to me and listen to my demand."

We were at that time in *Laodicea*, and before the teacher Peter had finished his conversation with the Lord, lo a thick, awe-inspiring and luminous cloud appeared. It moved towards us in a very short time and came down until it reached the earth ; then it lifted up again, and immediately after we saw a man walking towards us from the cloud—a venerable old man—and we heard distinctly a voice

¹ The beginning of the prayer is in rhymed prose. It has apparently been written in such a high style in order to produce a better effect.

² Remove the article.

³ Lit. "the worn out."

⁴ Cf. Matth. xvi. 19.

⁵ Cf. John xiv. 12.

⁶ The Syriac form of the word is used.

saying: "Get out to your children." We beheld the venerable man coming out of the valley that was there, looking bright but wearing clothes that were not of high quality. He had hair which was as white as the pure hair of a lamb, and his head was bare. The teacher Peter looked at him and said to him: "Are you one of us (men) or from other beings?" Indeed he thought and believed that he was a demon, or that he was one of the evil spirits. And the old man said in Latin: "I am a rational human being."

And the teacher said to him: "Give an account of yourself: who are you and what made you fall into this valley which is the valley of demons and rebellious (spirits) in which no man dwells. Tell me your story and give me your tidings without fear." And the old man answered: "I will narrate to you my story: 'I had a wife of princely descent from whom I had three male children one of whom was called *Faustus*¹ the other *Faustinus*² and the third *Clement*. She dreamed a dream which necessitated her learning philosophy, and she took her elder children and she sailed on the sea in order to go to the island (*sic*) of Athens and learn philosophy therein. She left with me the youngest child called *Clement*. After she sailed I did not hear any news either about herself or about her children.

"Twenty years later the youngest child said: 'Assuredly I intend to go³ to sea in order to obtain some information concerning my mother and my brothers.' To-day it is two years and five months since he left me, and during all this time I have had no news of him. From the time of the departure of my wife and of my children to this day I went every morning to the sea shore and asked every man coming from the regions (of Athens) concerning them, and no one was able to give me any information. To-day I was standing about an hour ago near the quay of Rome as was my wont, and demanding information from all who were coming, when I noticed the cloud that has just passed coming down to where I was standing. A man whom I saw sitting on it and whose face was like the bright full moon, said, 'Go down and take this old man with you to the

¹ *Kaustus*.

² *Kaustina*.

14 ■ ³ This sentence is badly worded but its meaning is clear.

town of *Aradus*, which is one of the dependencies of *Laodicea*, to my disciple *Simon*, in order that he may join his wife and his children who are in the town of *Laodicea*.' The cloud came down to the surface of the earth, lifted me up quickly¹ from the ground, brought me here, placed me in this valley and said to me, 'Go to your children.' I then went out of the valley and came to you. This is my story."

When I and my brothers heard the words of the old man I said to the teacher : " We have no doubt that this is our father and that Jesus Christ has heard your prayer for the return of our father to us." And he said to us : " Yes, this is your father." And he said to the old man : " These are your children." And he threw himself on us and embraced us and shed tears ; and we showed him our immense joy and embraced him affectionately. And I Clement, his son, told him the stories of all of us.

And the teacher Peter said to him : " The one you beheld above the cloud is our Lord the Christ whose servants we are. In this very hour I implored Him to send you to us for the sake of my sons whom I inherited from you, in order that you might join them. I am His servant Simon. Would you wish me to explain to you the religion of the Lord God² of heaven whom you saw, the religion which your children have already embraced ? " And the old man answered : " I confess and believe, and I will do all that you will order me to do." Now there was no water in that³ place, and the holy father, the teacher Peter, struck with his rod⁴ the valley which was dry and in which there was no water, and flowing water jetted forth from it, as sweet as julep. And he baptised⁵ my father and mother in that spring, and we all followed him as our Lord Christ willed it ! To Him be praise and thanks for ever and ever ! And that spring is called to this day, " The Spring of Sim'an," that is to say *Simon Cephas*. He baptised them in the name of the

¹ Lit. " stole me."

² Delete the article.

³ *Dhālīka* is somewhat redundant.

⁴ Read '*ukkāzatahu*. This proves decisively that the MS. from which the present one is derived was in undotted Arabic characters, because it is in Arabic only that the letters *rā* and *zā* are written in the same way and distinguished only by an extraneous dot.

⁵ The author uses here the objective pronoun before its subject as it is done in Syriac but never in Arabic.

Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost¹ and he anointed him with the holy Chrism which the Nazarene Christ had given to him, and he became purified in his baptism.²

Then we left that place for *Laodicea*, and we preached in it the eternal message for two years, and many people believed through us. After this we returned to *Jerusalem* and we assembled there with the rest of the Apostles.

And Clement said: "When father Peter entered the Upper Chamber in which he used to live with the rest of the Apostles—and it is that Upper Chamber in which the Holy Spirit had descended upon them—he dreamed a dream in which a spiritual tongue spoke to him and said: "Go you with the beloved *John* to the city of *Antioch*, preach in it and proclaim in it the message of the Lord Christ." And Peter said to the angel: "Would that you had told me this while I was in *Laodicea* as this would have shortened my way, because I am an old man and weak in strength." And the angel disappeared and spoke to him³ no more, and sleep overcame⁴ father Peter and master Mar John son of Zebedee till sunrise.

When they awoke from their sleep they found themselves⁵ in a desert which they had never before seen.⁶ And father Peter said to John: "O my brother were we not asleep both of us in the Chamber of Zion? And did we not eat and sleep in it?" And John replied: "You are right." And Peter said: "Where then are we now?" Is it not through hallucination by the *Archon*⁷ that we find ourselves in this place and in this locality?" While they were both of them talking woodcutters passed them speaking in Greek. And Peter said to Mar John: "Go and ask of these woodcutters⁸ the name of this place⁹ and of this country." And

¹ The names of the Trinity are as usual in Syriac.

² With slight variations the above story of Clement is also told in the *Ethiopic Contendings of the Apostles*, pp. 481-490.

³ Read *muhādathatiki*.

⁴ The construction of this sentence denotes an Arabic speaking Syrian.

⁵ Read *wajada 'anfusahumā*.

⁶ All this incident concerning the reluctance of Peter to go to Antioch from Jerusalem is narrated in more or less similar terms in the *Ethiopic work, Contendings of the Apostles*, p. 491.

⁷ The head of the demons.

⁸ Read *ḥattābin*.

⁹ A badly worded sentence.

John proceeded towards them and said to them : " By the truth of the Christ our Lord, Son of God, in what place are we ? " And the woodcutters answered : " This is the city of *Antioch*. Were it not for our pity on your youth we would have murdered you because of your oath in the name of a strange God."

Then John amazed at the words of the woodcutters, came back to Peter and informed him of what had taken place. And Peter said to him : " Let no thought from Satan enter into your heart. The Christ will not abandon us."¹ Then they entered into the city of *Antioch* and preached in all of it the name of our Lord Jesus Christ the only Son of God. And there great crowds of people gathered round them, who seized them and beat them as hard as they could. And Peter (narrated and) said : ² " They made (lit. hang) special signs on our heads, scoffed at us and anointed the middle part of our beards as a distinctive mark.³ Then they pulled us against our will, imprisoned us in one of the towers on the wall,⁴ and closed the door against us and bolted it.

"When we found ourselves in prison I and John began to pray, and we implored the Lord Christ not to remove His grace and His favours from us. Then our eyes became heavy and we were overcome by sleep. In the night we were overshadowed by a luminous cloud and the great and pure father Peter who was strengthened by the grace of God saw ⁵ the Christ our Lord surrounded by Cherubim and glorified by Seraphim. He spoke to us ⁶ in vision and said : "O Peter, be not afraid and in low spirits because I will be with you till the end of the eon. Do not be astonished at the fact that these (people) have their heads shaved and that they have shaved yours also.⁷ They meant to resemble you through this sign, and this should be a great honour and a sublime remembrance to you from now till the day of Resurrection. None of my priests should call ⁸ a layman

¹ This story of the woodcutters is also found in the Ethiopic *Contendings of the Apostles*, p. 492.

² The narrative is put here in the mouth of Peter.

³ The Ethiopic work *Contendings* (*ibid.*, p. 493) writes in this connection : " And the priests ordered (the people of the city) to shave off one half of the hair of our heads."

⁴ Read *as-sūr* (with a *sin*).

⁵ Clement seems to be speaking here.

⁶ The conversation reverts inconsistently to Peter or to Clement.

⁷ An astonishing origin of the clerical tonsure.

⁸ Read *yukaddim*

to the service of my altar, as no layman is allowed to wear this tonsure cut in a similar way. No one is permitted to take priesthood from you without wearing this sign on his head and shaving the middle part of it. Any priest who has not this mark or has not his head shaven in this wise is not worthy of priesthood, his lot is not with me and he will not enter into the Kingdom of Heaven. Any priest who dies with this sign on his head I will forgive all his sins and will wipe away his prevarications.¹

Then the Christ my Lord said: "Be not afraid, O Peter, because I have chosen *Saul*, who is called *Paul*, for you,² and that I will send him to you as a companion who will help you in your task." And I replied: "This Paul is the one previously called Saul who persecuted us wheresoever we went. He is our bitterest enemy." And the Christ, our Lord said to him: "He was so formerly, but now he is a disciple." And Christ the Lord disappeared from my sight after He had uttered these words to me.

We will now tell the story of Paul.

Paul showed greater enmity against the Christian religion than all the creatures of God, hated the disciples more than anybody else and sought them wherever they went and carried the orders of the Sultan and of the governors to harm those who believed in Christ. He obtained judicial sanctions against them from every tribunal, and accompanied by a considerable number of soldiers, he used to search every town and every village which he knew had received the message³ of Christ, had accepted His faith, had been baptised in the water of baptism and had rejected the religion of the unbelievers or the religion of Judaism. For fourteen years he did not cease to

¹ All these incidents of the apparition of our Lord to Peter and His assurances to him concerning the shaving of his head are found in the Ethiopic work *Contendings* (*ibid.*, pp. 493-494) with the exception that there is nothing in the Ethiopic text to insinuate that the people of the town themselves had their heads shaved. Indeed the Arabic text that I am translating is so strikingly worded in this place that one feels tempted to believe that the angels themselves had a tonsure! I had even to do slight violence to the text to avoid such an idea which, however, may possibly have been in the author's mind.

² The reader will notice how in this eminently Petrine document Paul is relegated to a second rank.

³ Read *muntadibīn*.

persecute, rob and murder the prominent followers and the disciples of Christ and to shed their blood.

The first one he murdered was his own nephew, a man called Stephen.¹ He lied against him from (the date) of the ascension of the Christ our Lord into heaven and assembled a company of the Jews who bore false witness against him and condemned him to death. Before embracing the Christian faith *Paul* was called *Saul*. When all the Jews yielded to his desire he brought² his nephew Stephen out of town to a hole which he had dug and in which he (Stephen) was stoned to death. And that blessed disciple prayed for them saying: "O Lord forgive them." The zeal³ of *Saul* was so intense that he collected all the clothes of those who participated in the murder of his nephew *Stephen*⁴ from fear lest some of the blood of Stephen should fall on them and defile them.⁵

Paul persisted in his hatred (of Christians) during all the above-mentioned years. The manner in which he was converted from Judaism to the faith of the Christ our Lord is as follows: He took with him signed letters from *Jerusalem* to *Damascus* in order that he might go there and persecute the disciples of Christ and demolish the churches which the faithful had built in it. While *Saul* was proceeding together with his men and his horses, and when it was midday, a door from heaven was opened before them and the place in which they were was illuminated with a light resembling that of the sun; and the earth shook and quaked from the majesty of that light. *Paul* and all those who were present with him were bewildered and agitated at the awe-inspiring things which they saw, and (they thought that) the earth was going to swallow them, and they were certain⁶ that it was the power of God that had manifested itself upon them and that His wrath had fallen upon them.

While they were all awe-struck and bewildered not knowing what

¹ That Stephen was a nephew of Paul is not found in Acts vi. vii. and viii. Who is the first authority for this remarkable statement? The text has "the son of his sister."

² Here also the author places the objective pronoun before the subject to which it belongs as it is done in Syriac but never in Arabic.

³ Or "the hatred."

⁴ Cf. Acts vii. 58.

⁵ From whence did the author get these additional and remarkable statements concerning St. Stephen Proto-martyr? They are not found in the *Ethiopic Contendings* (*ibid.*, pp. 532, 537).

⁶ Read *tayakkānū*.

God wished them to do, lo they heard all of them a most awe-inspiring and terrifying voice from heaven saying :¹ "Saul, Saul, how long will you persecute me² and strive to contradict me ? Can you parry the sharp edge of a blade with the palm of your hand ?"³

Immediately after the earth became dark and the sun was obscured. Then Saul said : "Who are you, O Lord ?" And He replied : "I am the Nazarene Christ, the son of God." And Saul said : "From this moment I will believe that you are the Christ, the Son of the living God." And overwhelmed by the awe-inspiring things that he witnessed he fell on his face to the ground, and the angels took his soul immediately, and in a vision he saw our Lord in the majesty of His glory saying to him : "I have chosen you to be an Apostle to me. Go now to *Damascus* and proceed to the great church found in it, because I have there a disciple called *Ananias* who will make you whole." And immediately after the soul of Saul came back to him, and he found only a few of the companions that were with him.

He then, while blind, proceeded to *Damascus* and asked about the great church. When the priest of the church who was named *Ananias* found him he said to him : "Come, O my brother *Saul*, in the love of Christ our Lord, because our Lord has chosen you to be His disciple and His preacher." And the ascetic⁴ *Ananias* placed his pure hands on the eyes⁵ of *Saul* and said : "In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, son of the living God,⁶ open ye O eyes and return⁷ to your normal state." And the eyes of *Saul* opened forthwith, and thin scales like small husks fell from them, and the ascetic asked for water with which he ordered him to wash his eyes.⁸ After having washed his face and his eyes he received sight forthwith.

In that very night *Saul* saw in a vision the Christ our Lord who said to him : "From this moment you will not be called *Saul* but PAUL. I have made you my preacher before the kings and a companion to *Peter* my disciple, the chief and the chairman of my elect. And the Christ our Lord ordered *Paul* to go to *Antioch*. And when

¹ All this narrative seems to be taken from Acts ix. 1-22.

² Acts ix. 4 : "Why persecutest thou me ?"

³ Acts (*ibid.*) : "It is hard for thee to kick against the pricks."

⁴ *Rāhib* means generally a monk, but what kind of Christian monks were there in the time of *Ananias* ?

⁵ Read 'ainai.

⁷ Read in the dual form.

⁶ All the sentence is in Syriac.

⁸ Read 'ainaihi.

he went there he met the great and the presiding teacher *Peter* and also *John* while both were in prison.

And the Great Father said :

"At daybreak we saw *Paul* the elect knocking at the door of the prison, and I said to *John* : "Call him to us." And he called him. When *Paul* saw *John* having the middle of his head shaven he said to him : "What is this thing you have innovated in this town ?" And *John* said to him : "Do not be amazed, O disciple *Paul*, at that which you see in me ;" And *Paul* opened the door of the prison, entered, greeted me, received my benediction and said to me and to *John* : "Do not be grieved at what you have suffered from the inhabitants of *Antioch*. By the truth of Christ the Lord who appeared to me on the way, He sent me to you in order that I may preach in His name with you."

And we left our place, and he¹ went and met the heads of the city of *Antioch* and spoke to them what he wished. Then he dispatched a messenger² to us and called us to him. The messenger ushered us into the temple of the idols, and we entered and found *Paul* praying and worshipping before the idols, and suspicion entered into our mind concerning his faith.³ When he finished his worship he turned towards me and said : "O man, what is your name ?" And I answered : "*Peter*." And he said : "Who is your God ?" I answered : "A God, one in nature and three in attributes, worshipped and glorified by⁴ His creatures and praised by His myriads.⁵ He is the creator of all rational and irrational beings.⁶ He is the Feeder, the Giver, and the Provider. He created the created beings, perfected them and endowed them with wisdom and might. He enjoined His worship upon them, but they disbelieved in Him and worshipped the Rebel and injured themselves in their services⁷ to the rebellious *Archon*, because they were all the time worshipping idols. And He showed forbearance to them generation after generation, but

¹ I.e., *Paul*. The following story is very strange and original.

² Read *rasūlan*.

³ This hypocritical act of *Paul* is also mentioned in the Ethiopic *Contendings*, p. 495.

⁴ Add *min* or *fi*.

⁵ Sic *codex*.

⁶ The following sentences are in rhymed prose.

⁷ The Arab. *bi'at' ābihim* "in their fatigues" seems to be a literal translation of the Syriac *b-'amlaihon* which means both "in their fatigues" and "in their services."

they did not fear God, the avenging Lord who fathoms the secrets of the hearts. When, however, many generations passed in this way and Satan drew to himself all mankind, this displeased the jealous Lord, and He sent His Son, the mighty Teacher, who came down to the earth and appeared in a covering which He chose to Himself from light, which He materialised¹ and from which He spoke and performed in His world the things which He wished to perform. Then He ascended into heaven by His power and sent us His disciples,² to all creatures by His will."

And Paul said: "When your master came down from His heaven what pious works did He do which would make Him worthy of headship?" And I replied: "He performed miracles that transcend the minds, and forgave the sins of the ignorant." And he said: "And what did this great and ancient Master of yours give you?" And I replied: He granted each one of us to perform the wonders which He performed and to cure every man from his diseases and his ailments." And he said: "Show us something from this (power) in order that we may believe in your God Jesus Christ." And I replied: "Bring to us a man blind and dumb from his birth."³ And he brought to me immediately a man who was blind from his birth and who prayed God at that moment to give him joy and remove his ailment from him.

And I took⁴ the man and brought him before me and said to John: "Pray the Lord Jesus Christ to open the eyes⁵ of this blind man." And John said: "The power has been given to you and not to me. Pray you and I will help you in your prayer." And I implored the Lord Jesus Christ of *Nazareth* the Son of God and said: "O sightless eyes so shape yourselves that the light of vision may penetrate into you." And (in saying so) I placed my hand on the eyes of the blind man and said: "In the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit who is glorified by all the creatures of God on earth and in heaven." Immediately after a pair of eyes were opened for the blind man, and he saw with them all those who

¹ Hardly orthodox doctrine of the Incarnation.

² Read *talāmīdhahu*.

³ Lit. "from his mother's womb."

⁴ Here again the author uses the objective pronoun before its subject as it is done in Syrian but not in Arabic.

⁵ Read *'ainai*.

were present,¹ and they believed and glorified the Lord Jesus Christ with a hymn. Voices were raised and all the town was in a state of commotion because of the miracles wrought before all those that were present.

And people prostrated themselves before me to the ground and besought me to forgive them the injustices that they had done to me. And *Paul* said to them: "Do not be too ready² to believe in the God of this man who is possibly a medical man who has specialised in *Indian* drugs, similar to those I have now with me, through which he opens the eyes of men. The people listened to him and believed him and the (story of the) drugs. So the King assigned to us a house in which we lived, I and *John*, in the way we wished.³

After three days *Paul* called us to him while he was in the temple of the idols and surrounded by a great number of Magians.⁴ Before him were madmen, paralytics, lepers, deaf and dumb, lame, and men affected with rigidity in their wrists and with skin diseases. And *Paul* said: "O *Peter*, these are your guests to-day, so ask your Lord to give them healing." And I said: "I will do willingly and with pleasure what you have asked me to do, in this very house." And I did not cease laying my hands upon each one of them till all were cured. Every one of those that were cured of his diseases blessed⁵ the Christ my Lord. The place in which we were was then filled with cries and continuous shouts, and the majority of the people who were present put on the garment of baptism, and many words of thanks were addressed to us.

And *Paul* said: "O *Peter*, if your words concerning your God are true you will raise a dead man for us. If you work such a miracle the first one to believe in your Master would be I." And the King said: "If he raises my son who is dead I shall be the first to believe

¹ This miracle is also found in the Ethiopic *Contendings*, pp. 496-497.

² Read *tasta jiliu*.

³ This story about the evangelisation of Peter, John and Paul is strange and appears to be exclusively of Coptic-Ethiopic origin. See *Contendings* (*ibid.*). The reader has doubtless noticed the important rôle played always by Peter in this eminently Petrine document.

⁴ Evidently the author uses this word in the general sense of "pagans."

⁵ Lit. "mentioned."

⁶ The ingenious and rather subtle rôle given to Paul in this narrative is very original.

in Him, and so also will all the inmates of my house." And the inhabitants of the city said "And we all will believe and perform all the obligations of his faith which he will teach us." And I replied : "Yes, I will teach you these obligations¹ when I have raised the dead man. You ought to serve the God of heaven and earth." And they answered : "Yes, we will do so." And *Paul* said "Bring a dead man."

One of the prefects of the city had an only son who was dead, but the father being away on a journey the relatives did not bury the son until the father's arrival. Now they brought and presented this dead man, and *Paul* said : "O aged man, if you raise this dead man we all will believe in your God." And I prostrated myself before the Lord Jesus Christ and wept before Him. I was in great fear at that time and said in my prayer : "My God and my Lord do not forsake me but listen to me according to your habit with me. Confirm your true promise to me, and raise this dead man in order that I may teach these people that you are the living God² beside whom there is no other God."

And I rose from my prostration and signing myself with the sign of the Cross I said with a loud voice that could be heard by all those present : "O dead man, arise in the name of Jesus Christ whom the Jews crucified in Jerusalem." And the dead man rose forthwith. And the shouts of the people increased in their glorifications to the name of Christ.³ And *Paul* said "If you raise also the son of the King we will believe in your God, I, the King, and all his kingdom." And I *Peter* answered : "Any time you choose to have this done, I will perform to you such a miracle in the name of the Christ my Lord, O you inhabitants of *Antioch*."

After the above words were uttered we separated ourselves from the crowds. Three days later *Paul* went to the house of the King and said to him : "These men have said that they were able to raise the dead in the name of their God, and they have raised the son of the prefect, and have also said that they will do⁴ the same thing to

¹ Lit. "I will do so."

² Read *al-'ilāh*.

³ Curiously enough this miracle is not found in the Ethiopic work, *Contendings*, pp. 497-498, in which the narrative goes from the blind man to the son of the Emperor or the King. On pp. 668-672, however, of the same *Contendings* Peter raises another man from the dead.

⁴ Read *yaf'alū*.

the son of the King. As to the gods whom we serve they are not able to heal the sick, nor to show a sign, nor to open the eyes of the blind, nor to cure diseases nor to make lepers whole, as these men did¹ in the name of their God. We have asked them to do a great thing which no one has so far heard that a created being has ever done. If these men do it we must all of us believe immediately in their God."²

And the King said: "My son died three years ago³ and he is buried in a mausoleum. I know that he has become a handful of bones with no soul whatsoever in them. If these men raise him to life I shall be the first to embrace their faith, I with all my relatives, my friends and the inhabitants of my city, and if any one does not follow me I will destroy him with this my sword." And *Paul* said to him: "And if these men are not able⁴ to raise your son to life?" The King answered: "I will torment them with every torment and remove them from this world." And Paul said: "I agree with this condition."

Then I, *Peter*, was summoned along with *John* to the house of the King, and we were honoured, treated with deference, and given the first seats. And I⁵ *Paul* began to speak: "We have made a pact with you by which you ought to stand."⁶ And I *Peter* said: "What pact have you with us?" And the King answered: "I have a son who died three years ago. You shall raise him and bring him to life in the name of your God." And I answered: "If I do what you wish, O King, and bring your son to life in a state which you will know, what will you do, as part of your bargain?" And the King replied: "I will believe in your God with all my household," and signalling to *Paul* he added: "together with this my vizier and with all the inhabitants of my kingdom." And I *Peter* replied: "Let us then proceed to where the youth lies."

And the King rose along with all those who were present, and they walked towards the door of the corridor which led to the place in which the son of the King was buried. Behind me and before me

¹ Read *fa'ala*.

² Lit. "Return one word to their God."

³ The Ethiopic work, *Contendings* (p. 500), says "three months ago," instead of three years ago.

⁴ Delete the *nūn* from the verb.

⁵ See again how the speakers change rôles in the narrative.

⁶ Delete the *nūn*.

were innumerable crowds. I ordered the door of the vault to be opened, and it was opened, and then I intimated to the King, to *Paul* and to some of the King's retinue and relatives to descend into the mausoleum and to verify the condition of the dead son of the King and then to report to me. When all of them saw him they said : "We have only found some of his large limbs ; all the rest has perished and suffered dissolution. Then I, *Peter*, uncovered my head and began to pray towards the East, and stretched my hands before my Creator, and said before all those present in a loud voice that could be heard by all :

"I know, O my Lord and my God, Jesus Christ, son of God, that you are present here with me, and that as you are here present you are also present in every part of the heavens and of the earth. No height and no depth are without you. Do not forsake me and do not leave me, but let your Providence encompass me wherever I may be dwelling. You have ordered me to¹ preach the Gospel to mankind in your name and to deliver them from the snare, the ropes and the nets of the *Archon*, in order that they may know that you are the only Son of God and that the Spirit of God is in the essence of God, and that He is not three, as it is said, but one God, one Lord, the first and eternal God with His Word through whom He speaks and through whom He created all created beings, and with His spirit who proceeds from Him,² and imparts life to all beings. He is one God, rational and living, and there is no God and no being to be worshipped beside Him. By Your Grace you have shown us who you are, and we have known you. You have ordered us to preach in your name, and we have obeyed your order, and so we are now before you and you are in us and with us. Do not forsake us and those who believe in you through us. Confirm your true saying to us before these multitudes who are assembled here before you in order that they may know³ that you are their God, and their true Lord. We implore you in your great name, in the time of our need, to answer our supplications and grant us that which we expect from you, because you are our God and we have no other God beside you. Make our

¹ Read '*an*.'

² The author does not seem here to believe in the procession of the Spirit from the Son. See, however, the first part of the work.

³ Delete the final *nūn* from the verb.

path easy and render our effort¹ successful. Do to us what you have taught us to expect from you, that you will listen to our prayers in our arduous tasks. We only ask you what you have ordered us to ask, so that when these pagan² multitudes have seen³ your wonderful works⁴ which you by your power perform through us who are your lowly disciples, they might know that you are all-powerful in your name. We beseech you according to your order to us, and you, O my God, listen to us, hear us, and make haste to answer our prayers because you are near to us, present with us, and dwelling in us. It is you who strengthens us, who brings us together, who provides us with our food, who dwells in our hearts, who fathoms our secrets, who causes us to die and gives us life again, who brings illness upon us and then heals us."

When my supplication to God reached these words, all my body was illuminated with lights, which were also reflected on all those who were present, and a gentle wind blew on us which emitted scents sweeter than all perfumes, which extended to those that were far and near. Then the Holy Spirit⁵ appeared and fortified me and assured me that I would perform that miracle. I drew, therefore, near the sepulchre and raised my voice and said: "O dead man, whose body has perished, arise from your sleep⁶ by the power of our Lord Jesus Christ, Son of the living God, and hasten to come to me here." Immediately after the son of the King came out to me, and I seized him by his hand and presented him to his father, who instantly believed in God and in our Lord Jesus Christ, Son of the living God, as also did all his relatives and all the inhabitants of the city.

After this people hastened to the temples which they demolished, and to the idols of which they broke up. In their places they laid foundations for churches; and all the people worshipped the Cross.

The Son of the King was then asked about his condition after his death and what his soul had seen, and he replied that since he had died and his soul had left his body, he was thrown to the torments of hell down to that hour. (He then added): "And the angel to whom I was entrusted said to me, 'Be of good cheer, because de-

¹ Lit. "Stretch between our hands."

² Read *shāhada*.

³ Here again the author uses the word "Holy Spirit" in feminine as it is done in early Syriac literature.

⁴ Lit. "foreign."

⁵ Read *af'ālaka*.

⁶ Or "your rest."

liverance has come to you from God.' Then he raised me from that torment and brought me before the Lord Christ with whom I saw standing this man, that is to say *Peter*, and this youth, that is to say *John*, and this other man, that is to say *Paul*. The three of them were worshipping before the Lord and imploring Him to restore me to this life again. The Lord Christ granted their request in the matter of bringing me to life again, and immediately after my soul returned to my body alive. And when this venerable man, Peter the disciple of the Christ called me to¹ come out of my grave I obeyed him and came out."

And the King said to *Paul* : "Did you hear² what my son said about you?" And he answered, "Yes." And the King said to him : "And how is that?" And *Paul* answered : "I will relate to you all my story dealing with the religion of Christ." When he had told all his story as narrated above the King said to him : "And what induced you after you had believed in this powerful, ancient and mighty Lord, the master and the maker of the times, to deny Him and to return to the worship of idols?" And Paul said : "I did not worship idols nor did I deny God. I meant in what I did to use a stratagem with you in order that by my soft advice to you the hardness of your nature may be mollified to your advantage. In this the Most High God gave me victory over you as He brought you to the right path."

The King was amused and smiling at him thanked him for the ruse he had practised against them, and for the fact that he had converted them from error and the worship of idols to the obedience to God and to the knowledge of His persons, and to the belief in the Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, who is endowed with eternal life and who delivers from all sorrow. When our joy was finished we all helped in the task of baptising them, and I ordained³ men from them as priests for them, and after having remained two years in *Antioch* we left them, and I despatched *Paul* to the town of *Tarsus* in order to convert its inhabitants to the faith.

After our separation from *Paul* I received letters from the believers in *Laodicea* in which they informed me that their river

¹ Read *bi'an*.

² Lit. "do you see."

³ The Syriac word "*sām*."

known as *Kīsarīs*¹ had increased its waters immeasurably and was in flood in a way that had never occurred before, and that it had drowned a great number of people. I sent to them *John* the beloved and I ordered him saying: "Proceed to *Laodicea* and quell for its inhabitants the vehemence of the river, and say to it: 'O river, you have no power to rise more than your normal rate,² by the word of God who created the heavens and the earth. You, O river, you will be cursed if you do not go back to your former place from now to eternity.'"

And *John* went to *Laodicea* and persistent news reached him to the effect that the high floods of the river had killed innumerable people. Among those who came to bring this news to *John* were men of different social standing. In the route which *John* was following was a herd of sheep, and *John* drew near a ram that was in that herd and said to it: "O irrational animal, go with these people as my messenger to the river called *Kīsarīs* and inform it thus: "*John* the disciple of Christ has sent me to you in order to inform you that you are forbidden³ by the Word of the living God, the eternal and the creator of all the created beings, to overflow your natural banks. Go now back to your natural banks and do not go beyond them any more from now till the day of the Resurrection."⁴

The ram went then to the river and said to it in clear language: "Mar *John*, the disciple of our Lord Jesus Christ has sent me to you. He orders you by the Word of God to⁵ go back to your natural banks." And the water ran immediately back and decreased in volume from its swollen state until it reached its normal condition. The crowds were amazed at this miracle and many pagans of the inhabitants of *Laodicea* believed in the religion of Christ. The numbers of the pagans of *Laodicea* who believed through *John*, the Apostle of the Lord Saviour, was eighteen thousand.⁶ All these believed through *John*, may our best peace be with him. And he

¹ Is it the Lycos? The Ethiopic work, *Contendings* (p. 503), mentions also this miracle and calls the river *Kēsārōs*.

² Lit.: "more than the habit."

³ The verb *marbūt* (lit.: "bound") is generally used in magical formulae.

⁴ The sentence is badly worded.

⁵ Delete *lām*.

⁶ Read *alf*.

ordained¹ from amongst them priests and deacons, and afterwards he left them and went to *Ephesus*, and I repaired to *Jerusalem*.²

Says father Clement, may his prayers be with us. Amen ;

And when the great teacher and the spiritual father, Peter, reached the town of *Jerusalem*, he called me Clement to his service, and he ordered me along with my brothers to repair in advance of him to the city of *Rome*. He said to us : " Go you before me because I shall soon go there myself." The Lord Christ had indeed ordered him to travel in that direction, so we obeyed his command and put to sea in order to go to *Rome* as our teacher *Peter* had ordered us ; And he also added " Take also your father³ with you." Several days after we had left he summoned to him a company of the disciples and informed them that he would soon be proceeding to *Rome*. All of them were grieved at his separation, and did not disguise from him their sorrow.

Then he left them and on his way passed through *Cyprus* where he stayed twenty-three days. He informed me Clement of this and said to me : " At the end of a stay of twenty-three days in *Cyprus* an angel appeared to me and said to me : ' O *Peter*, let not this town, I mean this island, please you (too much), but go in haste to *Rome* because there is more need of you there than here.' " And (Clement) said : " The great father Peter spoke to me and said : ' I did immediately next morning what the angel had ordered me to do. And I spoke my farewells to the inhabitants of *Cyprus* and separated myself from them, and their hearts ached because of this separation. And the earth folded itself under my feet as the parchment of a book is folded, and in a few days I reached *Rome*. I entered it while I was naked and had not a garment to wear. I was in a bewildered state when I entered it and also hungry and thirsty. On my entrance I came upon a dung heap⁴ that was near the house of a nobleman, one of the notables of the city. I climbed up and sat on it tired, hungry, heavy-hearted, stricken with grief and

¹ Here again the Syriac verb *sām*.

² The Ethiopic work, *Contendings* (p. 504), erroneously states that Peter went to Rome instead of to Jerusalem.

³ Read *abākuma*.

⁴ The Ethiopic narrative calls it " a little hill," *Contendings*, p. 505.

sorrow, without the strength of even one day,¹ deep in thought and not knowing where to go.²

The man near whose door the dung heap was found was a pious man, a great almsgiver, and a man of pure heart and a lover of strangers. His daughter came out at that time and saw me, and she entered again and said to her father :³ " There is on the dung heap a stranger who is in a nude state and naked, and who does not resemble the poor and the strangers of our town. I have never known a man in greater poverty." And her father⁴ said to her : " My daughter take a ewer of gold, fill it with water, and carry a basin of gold and a towel, and go to this poor man, peradventure you will be cured from your ailment.⁵ Perhaps also he is a messenger of a god or the messenger of the God of heaven who appeared in *Judæa* in the town of Jerusalem, because I have heard this from one of the relatives of *Nero*, who was the Governor of *Judæa*, and also that He has ordered His disciples to hate gold and not to possess silver, that they should be poor, humble, and wear tatters.⁶ They show heavenly signs and spiritual power, because their God, the Lord Christ, has given them power to work miracles and wonders. I hope that this stranger is a disciple of the God⁷ of heaven so that he should cure you of your ailment ; and I hope also, my daughter, that if you go to him and wash his feet and not recoil from his poverty, he will cure you of the leprosy with which you are afflicted."

And the maiden came out to me with a covered face from which only her eyes were seen, as she was a chaste girl with a pure heart. She came to me with a ewer and a basin in her hands while I was moaning and weeping. And she said to me : " O venerable man, do not weep and do not be heavy hearted. The time for your rest has come⁸ and your sorrows have passed ; wash, therefore, your face with this water and also your hands and your feet.⁹ Be of good cheer

¹ Put the words of the text in genitive.

² A recension of the following story is found in an Arabic manuscript of Mount Sinai, dated 183 of the Hijrah (A.D. 799), and has been edited and translated by Mrs. Gibson, in *Studia Sinaitica*, No. 5, under the title of *Prædicatio Petri*, pp. 56-58 of the text.

³ Read *li-'abiha*.

⁴ Read *'abūha*.

⁵ We shall presently see that she had leprosy.

⁶ Read *khiraq*.

⁷ Delete the article.

⁸ Lit. " Your soul has reached."

⁹ Put both words in the dual accus. case.

because good is going to come to you, and you will enter the house of your servants in order that you may eat of our food¹ and pray for us." And she came and poured water on my hands and my feet while her hands and arms were covered. The maiden did not cease to pour water, and I did not cease to wash, until I was rested and my strength came back to me.

Then the Holy Spirit said to me : "She has leprosy." And I said to her : "O maiden, why are you hiding your face and your hands from me while I am a poor old man advanced in years ?" And she answered me : "Because I feel ashamed before you, and because of my regard for your age and respect for your asceticism, and also because of a long story of mine, the upshot of which is that I am affected with a great ailment and a complaint which I do not desire to display before any one in this world."²

And I said to her : "And what is this ailment ? Tell me your story, O maiden." When she heard this she said : "By the truth of God I will not hide anything from you. I was one day invited to the wedding of one of the notables of this city, and I went to it together with a company of women. When they saw me they began to speak of me among themselves with admiration, and evil eye struck me and I became affected with this ailment, that is to say leprosy." I saw her tears falling down from her eyes³ on her cheeks like rain, and I said to her : "Be of good cheer and rejoice." And I, Peter, took a handful of the water with which she had washed my hands and my feet, made the sign of the cross on it in the name of Jesus Christ and threw it on her, and she was cleansed of her leprosy and her ailment."

And she went to her father⁴ with joy and gladness on account of the favours of God to her, and apprised him of her cure through me. She showed him her hands, and he saw that they were healed ; and he sprang from his seat with joy and happiness and came out to me and kissed my hands and embraced my chest and took me with him into his house. He then ordered his slaves to carry me, and they carried me and brought me to his place, and he said to me : "This day the grace and the mercy of the Lord came down upon us and life

¹ Probably read *aṭ'āmina*.

² To lay emphasis on the fact the text says : "In both abodes of the world," *i.e.*, here and in the next world.

³ Read *'ainaiha*.

⁴ Read *abiha*.

entered our house." And he added : "Tell us who you are, O blessed old man, and whence you came, because we have seen light from you." And I replied to him : "I am one of the servants of Jesus Christ, the Son of the living God,¹ whom the Jews have crucified in the town of *Jerusalem*, and who rose alive from His grave before their eyes, and ascended to heaven whence He had come, and sat on the majestic throne of His glory. The angels glorify Him and worship Him in heaven, as also do on the earth all those who believe in Him. He chose us from the world, and ordered us to labour before Him on the earth, to preach to mankind resurrection after death, and to work miracles in all the regions of the earth. My Lord Jesus Christ has sent me to you and I came to this city at His bidding in order to call its inhabitants to His service, to baptise them with His baptism which all those who believe in Him receive,² and to sign them with the name of the Holy Trinity which is His Word, and the name of His holy Wisdom,³ that is to say in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, one true God.⁴ If they believe in this faith, He will forgive their sins, wipe off⁵ their prevarications, remove them from the terrors of (the day of the) Resurrection, and bring them to the height of joy, pleasures and peace."

And the old man said : "I and all my household believe in your works and in the generous Lord your God." And I immediately struck the floor of the room in which we were sitting with my staff⁶ and said : "In the name⁷ of the Christ our Lord let a spring of water appear on this floor." And immediately after a spring welled up in the room, and I baptised the old man with his children and all his relatives and marked them with the holy chrism. My name went then abroad in all the city, and all the inhabitants of *Rome* heard my story. I was visited by crowds of people affected with all sorts of complaints, such as itch, elephantiasis and leprosy ; and those of them who were mad and insane ; and those affected with dropsy ; and the paralytics ; and the sick of the palsy ; and the deaf and dumb ; and

¹ All this sentence is in Syriac.

³ The sentence is badly worded.

⁵ Read *mahḥaṣa* or *maha*.

⁶ Here again read '*ukkāzah*', which proves that the original from which the present MS. is derived was written in undotted Arabic characters.

⁷ Lit. "By the truth."

² Read *yaḥbaluha*.

⁴ All this sentence is in Syriac.

those affected with a withered arm ; and the blind ; and those affected with all sorts of fevers and with external and internal complaints.¹

Innumerable crowds thus sat near the door of that rich man like bellowing camels that had lost their shepherd. With them were many people who came to witness² the favour of God and to believe in Him through the testimony of their own eyes. When I *Peter* went out to them I preached to them in the name of my Lord Jesus Christ who saved the (inhabitants of the) world from the noose of the demons, and warned them against sin, and performed miracles and wonders among them. When they saw the blind³ seeing ; and people whose bodies were affected with elephantiasis shedding their scales and replacing them with a new and smooth skin, while overjoyed at the favours of God who had delivered them from their ailment which segregated them from other creatures ; and the paralytics leaping with joy ; and the deaf hearing ; and the dumb talking ;⁴ and the lame walking ; and people with withered arms stretching their hands in a normal way ; and the mad and the insane healed ; and the sick cured ; and the people affected with dropsy made whole : they were drawn to the faith and they one and all rejected idolatry for the grace of God which He so freely gave them, and they rejoiced, and praised and thanked the Most High God.

Then I baptised a considerable number of them and absolved their sins ;⁵ and I caused a Church to be built in the house of the old man who was called *Euphraxus*.⁶ My fame spread in the city and its inhabitants ascertained that I was Peter the head of the disciples of Christ. Then I Peter summoned my pupil *Clement* along with his brothers to come⁷ to me and assist me in the task of baptising those that had believed in the water of baptism. They came to me with all speed and helped in the furtherance of the message of the Lord Christ in the City of *Rome*.

The above news reached *Paul* and *Barnabas*, *Titus* and

¹ All the above story is told in more or less similar terms in the Ethiopic *Contendings*, pp. 505-509.

² Read *liyabsurū*, and also remove the *nūn* from the following verb.

³ Codex *ex errore* "the lepers."

⁴ Codex has here *ex errore* "and the dumb seeing."

⁵ Lit. "justified them."

⁶ Codex *Ophrax*. The Ethiopic text has *Euphrīkōs*.

⁷ Read *ya'tu*.

Timothy, his disciples,¹ and they came to us, and I was very pleased with their proximity to us and their arrival amongst us. Then *John* and some of the other Apostles came, and we proclaimed the faith in the city of *Rome* until our news reached the Emperor of *Rome*, who summoned us to him. I went to him together with the brethren whom the Christ my Lord had sent to me in order to finish His work in the city.

Paul, however, separated himself from us, but he told us nothing about his separation. He preceded us and entered the palace of the Emperor who honoured him and enhanced his prestige and caused him to sit next to him. And *Paul* ceased not to speak well to him of paganism and idolatry until he gained his confidence.² Then he said to him: "Who are these men who are causing disturbance in all *Rome*? Lo they show³ signs in it and proclaim the strange name of a God about whom no one knew anything in the world, especially in these regions." And the Emperor answered: "I have sent my friends after them to bring them⁴ here immediately." And *Paul* said to him: "When they come, O mighty and powerful Emperor, do not speak to them and do not answer any of their questions. Leave all this to me—and I will speak to them and answer them." And the Emperor said to him: "I entrust you with this duty; discharge it as you see fit."

When we reached the gates of the palace the men under whose charge⁵ we were said to us: "Wait here until we have obtained permission for you to have an audience with the Emperor." And when we entered the chamber in which the Emperor was sitting, we found *Paul* sitting with the Emperor in the first place of the audience room, speaking to him and consulting with him. And I said to the brethren who were with me: "Is not the one who is speaking to the Emperor, *Paul*?"⁶ The company (of the brethren) answered: "It

¹ The text probably *ex errore* has "disciples of Clement." Possibly the word "Clement" used here is the last of the following sentence found in Ethiopic "And Clement and his brothers my disciples," *Contendings*, p. 509. The sentence may have been thus truncated by the copyist.

² The strategic and somewhat crooked rôle given to *Paul* throughout the narrative is rather undignified. The idea is possibly inspired from 1 Cor. ix. 20-23.

³ Lit. "taught."

⁴ Delete the *nūn*.

⁵ Put the word in the nominative.

⁶ This sentence is worded in a style which denotes a translation from another language.

is as you say." And I together with all those who were with me were amazed at the courage of *Paul*, and each one of us thought evil of him, which, however, our tongues did not put into words.¹

The Emperor did not pay any attention to us nor did he ask us any questions, but *Paul* said : " O aged man, by what power have you been able to enter into our city and to preach therein the name of your God without previously having obtained for the purpose the permission of the Emperor, or of one of his prefects ? Who is this God whom you are mentioning and whose name you are spreading abroad saying that He is the God of heaven. You are divorcing men from the faith that they have inherited from their fathers and in which they were brought up from the beginning." And I said to him : " If I do not enter a town or preach the message of the Christ my Lord except by the permission and favour of Kings and prefects, my Master would be like the earthly Kings who are in fear of one another. But since my Master is the creator of all the created beings and the administrator of the affairs of this world according to His will, I have no need to ask permission from any of His servants when I enter into a town or go about on important business. It is indeed He—may His name be exalted—who advises me as to what I need, and helps me in whatsoever He wishes, in things far and near. Were it not for His mercy towards His world, and the abundance of His grace through which He loves to save His servants from error and to lead them to the right path and to be believed in by them, He would have wiped out their memory with the passing ages, in order that their punishment might be in the fire,² in the company of those who have committed injustices and soiled their hearts which they gave to the worship (of idols) to the exclusion of God the Lord of the worlds.³

And Paul said : " Of whom do you speak, O aged man ? " And I replied : " Of all those who worship demons that enter into idols and images, who offer sacrifices to them and worship them to the exclusion of God, the creator and God of all gods, the One and Omnipotent God who created the created beings,⁴ who fashioned the

¹ This sentence is ambiguous.

² Read *as-sa'ir* for *ash-sha'ir*. This also proves that the present Garshuni MS. is derived from an original written in undotted Arabic characters.

³ Kur'ānic expression.

⁴ These sentences are in rhymed prose.

heavens, who made the angels, who lifted the wheels¹ of the firmament which circles about. The mighty Lord and the Omnipotent King, who ordered His rational world to praise Him, glorify Him and magnify Him."

And Paul said : "What power did He give you, which you might show us and which we do not possess ?" And I replied : "The power of showing signs and working miracles which no created being can work besides us." And Paul said : "Could you show us something from them that we may know them ?" And I replied : "I can go near your god whom you have fashioned and into whom Satan, who disobeyed the order of His maker, has entered, and I will adjure him by the name of my Master to show you his real image and then to flee from his abode never again to return to it. This will show² to you that you are in great error." And Paul said : "Can you then speak to the god of the Emperor ?" And I replied : "And in the name of my God, I will also uproot him from these regions and banish him from them." And Paul said : "If you do this and if you overcome the god of the Emperor in the name of your Master, we will agree with what you say, and will follow your Master who sent you to us." And I replied : "Let us go then to the temple of the idols."

The Emperor was amazed at my words, and Paul persuaded him to come out with us to the temple of the idols, and all the inhabitants of the city of *Rome* gathered together at the time when we went out of the palace to repair to the temple. I went to the places where the idols were found standing, and the majority of them were of gold and silver, and the idol which the Emperor worshipped was the biggest of all and of pure gold. On its chest was (the figure of) a man dressed in the finest apparel, and on its head was a crown inlaid with precious stones and rubies of the highest quality. Satan spoke through it continually with the Emperor, and since he revealed in his conversation with him what he held as secret he worshipped him and offered sacrifices before him, and so also did all his relatives and friends.

And *Paul* said : "O aged man, worship the god³ of the Emperor and do not go against me. Unless you do this the god of the

¹ Read *dūlāb*. This also proves that the present MS. is derived from an original written in undotted Arabic characters.

² Delete the *nūn*.

³ Delete the article.

Emperor will kill you instantly." And I replied : " As to me I only worship the one and Omnipotent God of heaven. As to the god of the Emperor you will soon see its fate and what will become of him." And I Peter lifted my hands towards heaven and said : " To you I will speak my words, O mighty, Omnipotent and Wise God who administers the affairs of His creatures on His earth and in His heaven, who is present in the midst of us and in us, who uttered to us His true words, ' Whenever¹ two or three of you pray to me in my name, whether on land or on sea, I shall be present with them.'² We know that we are your disciples and that you have sent us to the Gentiles in order to preach to them in your name and convert them from their idolatry to the belief in your omnipotence. You have ordered us to perform wonders and miracles and drive out demons in your name, and also to bring to the right path the insolent nations."

Then I said in a loud voice : " O rebellious demons come out of these idols which are sheltering you and in which you are hiding, and show yourselves in your true colours³ to those who have worshipped you in order that they may know⁴ the power of our God, the God of myriads and myriads of myriads, who created you. O you who speak ill of your God, who mislead the servants of the generous and omniscient God, come out of these idols, in which you dwell, to the curse of God, by the power of the Lord God, the eternal Word who created everything found in heaven and on earth ; who came down to us in His power, might and omnipotence ; who in His mercy appeared in our clothing and became incarnate in our image in order to gain our confidence in our speaking and conversing with Him ; who chose us as His disciples and sent us to the Gentiles by His will and His love. You have no right, O rebellious demons who mislead the servants of God, to remain in these idols which hide you from the sight of men. Come out of them immediately by the omnipotence, might, majesty and power which God exercises over you."

At that moment⁵ the demons who⁶ were in those idols emitted loud cries which shook and terrified all those who were present, and they appeared in different forms which terrified the hearts of men, and

¹ Cf. Matth. xviii. 20.

² Lit. " in the ugliest show."

³ Probably read *sā'ātā'idhīn*.

⁴ Read *ma'ahum*.

⁵ Delete the *nūn*.

⁶ Read *al-ladhīn*.

all of them said in one voice¹: "How our hearts rejoiced in our dwellings! We were honoured and glorified by all the people, and we had no trouble of any kind, but to-day our peace has been changed into sorrow, for the Apostle of our God has driven us out of our places. His God has power over us and we can do nothing against Him because He is the Son of God, our creator, and His spirit and His eternal Word."

Immediately after this the idols fell down to the ground and were broken to pieces, and a foul and stinking smell came out of the ugly figures of the Rebels. When the Emperor who was a man of discernment and honesty and endowed with high qualities, heard the voice of Satan he was terrified and fell to the ground on his face in his fear. The demons went out in the direction of the inhabitants of *Rome* (who were present) and at their departure killed a hundred men of them. Then the crowds shouted their acceptance of the true faith and raised their voices saying: "The true faith in God is in the Lord Christ who in His grace sent to us His disciples in order to lead us to His worship and to the confession of His might and power. We all believe in God and acknowledge these messengers who led us from unbelief to faith and saved us from perdition."

We were very pleased at the conversion of the Emperor to the faith² in God and in Christ through the pure father the Apostle³ Peter, and also at the conversion of his viziers, his household, his relatives and his lieutenants. No one was left in town without believing and coming to us with humility asking to be baptised. In a very short time their unbelief and error were changed into belief. Then we enjoined on them the (Christian) obligations which they accepted with thanksgivings to the Most High God, and we ordained for them bishops, priests, deacons and monks (*sic*), and we were pleased with their faith and with the welcome that we had received from them.

Then I Peter, after having despatched the brethren along with Clement and his brothers who were at my service, remained in *Rome* for a month. I despatched *Mark* to *Alexandria*; *Thomas* to *India*; *Philip* to the town of *Nubia*; *Addai* to *Abgar*, King of the Syrians, in *Babylon*, and in the town of *Edessa*, and to the other

¹ The following sentences of the demons are in rhymed prose. There is no need to translate them literally.

² Read *bil-'iman*.

³ From the Syriac *sheliha*.

towns of *Jazīrah*¹; *John to Ephesus*,² and *I Peter and Paul* remained in Rome with the rest of the brethren.

Afterwards I left for the town to which *Philip* had repaired, and it is known as *Carthage*.³ The demon appeared to me on the way and wished to impede me from proceeding any further. He appeared with great power and strove to thwart and oppose me; but with the help of my Lord Christ I defeated the army which he had mustered against me. I took some of the oil which my Lord Christ had given me and put it in my mouth, and made the sign of the Cross on my face. All at once great power emanated from the omnipotence of my Lord Christ, and it overshadowed me and encompassed all my limbs. From the inside of my body came out a violent wind with which I found myself filled, and I blew that wind on the demon.⁴ A fierce wind resembling burning fire emanated then from my mouth, accompanied by a hurricane which blew away Satan and his hosts, and the road was left open for me.⁵

[Analysis of the text on ff. 173-185^b and full translation of all the important passages found in it]:

Then Satan bemoaned his fate, lamented over his fallen power and threatened to harass *Peter* and his followers with all sorts of temptations. Peter, however, rebuked him in the name of Christ,

¹ Upper Mesopotamia. The Ethiopic text (*ibid.*, p. 510) calls it "the land of the two rivers."

² The reader has doubtless noticed how in this eminently Petrine work Peter is given an abnormally prominent position. The rest of the Apostles play an unusually secondary rôle.

³ Evidently the author understands the Ethiopia of Acts viii. 27, to mean Carthage. That Philip went to Carthage is also explicitly stated in *Acta Philippi*. See Tischendorf, *Acta Apost. Apocr.*, 75-104; Lipsius, *Apocr. Ap. Gesch.*, ii, 1-53. And compare Batiffol's text in *Analecta Bollandiana*, 1890, 204-249, and Wright's *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*, pp. 69-92. See also James, *Apocryphal New Testament*, p. 450. Carthage in these documents is placed in "Azotus." The copyist writes the word as *Fartāgina* for *Ḳartāgina* and this again proves decisively that the present MS. is derived from an original in early and undotted Arabic characters, because it is only in Arabic that the letters *fā'* and *kāf* have an identical form and are distinguished exclusively by extraneous dots.

⁴ Cf. about this story of Peter and Satan the Ethiopic *Contendings*, pp. 510-514.

⁵ From this sentence to the end of the work I will only give the analysis of the text. I will, however, give a regular translation of all the important passages found in it.

and he disappeared. Then Peter narrates that he and Paul proceeded to the town of *Philippi*¹ along with *Timothy*, the disciple of the latter, and evangelised it. From there Paul went to *al-Adiyōka*,² the town which is in darkness and which is separated from the town of *Afdār* by the lake³ *Gurgu*, the breadth of which is a hundred parasangs.⁴ On reaching the shores of the lake Paul found no one to take him across it, but he prayed the Lord and an angel carried him while asleep to the other side. He then entered the town and preached in it the name of the Lord, and all its inhabitants believed in Christ. He remained in it twenty months, after which he returned to *Carthage* and joined me there. He presented to me a report on his journey to *al-Adiyōka* in which he said :

"O spiritual father, our Chief, after I left you I saw in a vision the angel of the Lord who said to me, 'Go to the town of the King *Candude*⁵ and preach in it the Gospel of Christ.' I hesitated and said that it would be more advantageous if you Peter were to go there, but he intimated to me that I had to obey his orders and that your stay at *Carthage* would for the time being be more helpful, because our Lord loves this town and it is His second 'storehouse.'⁶ In consequence of these words of the angel I went into the town, which is a large city, as large as Rome, and it is the capital of *Candude*. The lake⁷ which surrounds it has a width of one hundred parasangs or three hundred miles. I entered it on the twelfth of the month of

¹Text: *Philibus*. It is not explained how from Ethiopia the Apostle went so quickly to Philippi in Macedonia.

²Or *Alidiyōka*.

³In some Coptic Arabic documents the word *nahr*, "river," refers also to "a lake" or "a sea." See my *Woodbrooke Studies*, vol. i., pp. 156, 168, etc. We shall see below that the author uses also in this connection the word *bahr*, "sea."

⁴These names are found in the Ethiopic work, *Contentings of the Apostles* (pp. 513-514), in slightly different forms due to erroneous transcriptions by copyists: "And when we had entered therein Paul left me and went to the city of *Wārīkōn* (= *al-Adiyōka* of our MS.), the country of darkness, and between it and the country of *Akrād* (= *Afdār* of our MS.) is a lake the name of which is *Gurgnor* (= *Gurgu* of our MS.), the breadth of which is three hundred stadia."

⁵This is evidently *Candace*, King of Ethiopia, mentioned in Acts viii. 27.

⁶Sentences like these bring the present Apocryphon in direct relation with Ethiopia, and its author seems to have had especial interest in that country.

⁷Lit. "river."

May. On the ramparts of the city there was a talisman which played the rôle of a watchman,¹ and when a stranger came near the city it uttered loud cries which acted as a warning to the inhabitants. When I drew near the inhabitants armed themselves, took to the boats and pursued me. And I hid in a cave near that lake,² and was much harassed by hunger and thirst, but in the night I went out and drank water from the lake, and in the morning I prayed my Lord, and the talisman emitted a fearful sound, and the waters of the lake became agitated like those of the Red Sea. The men came out again in their boats against me and I took refuge in the cave. The same thing happened the next day, and I fled, but the Virgin, the mother of light, stood before me and ordered me not to flee, and assured me that I would baptise all the inhabitants of the city in the water of that very lake. On the advice of the Virgin I took a handful of water and threw it in the face of the oncoming men who numbered one hundred and fifty thousand, and their rage abated because they saw the doors of heaven open and a hand of fire stretched along with my hand over them. They would have been overwhelmed by the heat of that fire, were it not for the handful of water that I threw towards them."

Then Paul proceeds to inform his master "the great teacher Peter" that eventually after he had performed some other miracles he baptised all the inhabitants of the town. Thereupon the King of the country sent additional troops against Paul, but by the great number of the miracles that he wrought they were all converted together with the King. Among his miracles Paul had dried up a place in the lake, and in that place eighteen thousand men helped to build a church under the name of the Virgin, the dimensions of which are given at some length. Then the Apostle ordained for them bishops, priests and deacons, and ordered the waters of the lake to surround the town before he came back to give an account of his mission to Peter.³

Then Peter goes on to narrate that after he had listened to Paul speaking of the town which he had evangelised, his soul longed to see it, and he implored the Christ to grant him his wish, and while he was standing on the quay of *Carthage* he was overshadowed by a

¹ The author uses here the Persian word *didabān*.

² Here the author uses the word *bahr*, "sea."

³ The above story of the evangelisation of Paul is found in a slightly different form in the Ethiopic *Contendings*, pp. 691-699.

white cloud, and the two angels to whom he was entrusted, one of whom was called *Akrābīl* and the other *Falwabīl*,¹ came out of it and commanded him to ride on it and go to the town he wished to see, and it was called *al-Adiyoka*. There he was given a kindly reception, and he rode a white elephant that was placed at his disposal. He was also presented by the inhabitants with an address of welcome in which he was informed that the day of his visit will be commemorated for ever in their land, and in which he was asked to plant for them some olive trees as they needed their oil for "sacrifice."² During the night Peter prayed the Lord, and next morning the inhabitants of the town saw full-grown olive trees to the length of ten parasangs planted in gardens interspersed with springs of water. After having healed people affected with all sorts of diseases and remained seven months in the town he asked the Lord to remove from it all devouring beasts and damaging insects. Then a cloud carried him back to *Carthage*.

The brethren were very pleased when he narrated to them what had happened to him. After having lived some days in *Carthage* they repaired to *Philippi* and thence to *Rome* where the jealousy and hatred of *Simon Magus* were roused against them. Some of the inhabitants of *Rome* followed *Simon Peter* and his companions and some others *Simon Magus* who for three months performed by magic all the miracles that the Apostles wrought by the power of God. One day *Simon Magus* brought an ox to the Emperor and told him that he could make it die by breathing into its ears on condition that the Apostles of Christ should afterwards give life to it. The ox duly died and the Emperor summoned the Apostles,³ and Peter recited a prayer over it and life came back to it. The ox proceeded then by itself to summon *Simon Magus* before the Emperor, who remonstrated with him, but the magician answered him that he was able to do a greater miracle, such as that of ascending to heaven. Then a great multitude of evil spirits assembled there and lifted up *Simon Magus* to such a height that he was no more seen by the

¹ I do not remember having seen these two names elsewhere. In the *Ethiopic Contendings* (*ibid.*, p. 700), their names are given as *Uriel* and *Raphael*.

² *Kurbān*. Possibly the holy chrism.

³ In the text Peter is speaking in the first person.

people. Peter, however, recited another prayer and the magician fell to the ground, and his body was cut to pieces. As an outcome of this miracle a considerable number of people believed and were baptised, and it took the Apostles thirty-eight days to baptise them. Afterwards Peter, together with *Timothy* and *Titus* the disciples of Paul, and Barnabas the elder,¹ and *A'amūs*² one of the seventy, repaired to the house of *Clement* in Rome and there offered sacrifices. The number of people who believed in Rome down to the time in which the Apostles went to the House of Clement was two hundred and twelve myriads. A church was eventually erected in the house of Clement.³

After these events Peter ordered Clement to put down in writing all that he had taught him and revealed to him. He further commanded him to deposit the book thus witten in the archives at Rome. When the book was finished Peter and Clement sealed it with their seals, and Peter said: "As God liveth no one ought to divulge these mysteries to *Paul* or those who resemble him.⁴ This can only be done by the pure servants of holiness⁵ who are justified by the grace of God." After this Peter added to the two above seals the seal of the Virgin "the mother of light," and Paul said: "May my curse dwell also on those who contradict the order of Peter, the head of the Apostles and my teacher." They recited then a formula

¹ *Al-kabīr*. The Ethiopic text (*Contendings*, p. 517) has here "Thomas the elder."

² This is probably a copyist's error for *Agapus*. This name is correctly written in the Ethiopic *Contendings* (p. 517). The error is due to early and undotted Arabic characters, and constitutes another proof in favour of the opinion that the present Garshūni text is transcribed from an Arabic original.

³ The speaker is here Clement.

⁴ We cannot help remarking that Paul is very much ill treated in this eminently Petrine work. All this sentence, which appears to be hostile to Paul, has been omitted by the Ethiopian translator of the *Contendings* (*ibid.*, p. 518), who was evidently shocked by the severity of the language used against the Apostle of the Gentiles. The original sentence is:

سألا الله أن لا يسمع من لا يسمع من الله
 which may possibly also mean: "As God

liveth no one ought to divulge these mysteries be he Paul or any of those who resemble him (= his followers)." The sentence is, as usual, badly worded but the general meaning seems to be clear.

⁵ Or: "of the mass".

of curse to which the evangelist *Luke* and *Titus* and *Timothy* and *John* the evangelist subscribed.

Clement goes on to relate that he divided his book into eight parts and that he deposited its leaves in Rome in a cave¹ which he named the "Cave of Life." In it were also placed the records of *Stephen* and *Silvanus*, and the secrets revealed by Paul to his disciples Zerosus (?)² and *Dionysius*,³ and those revealed by *John* the evangelist. After Clement had deposited his book, all the Apostles gathered together in the Metropolis where *John* preached his Gospel. There each one of the Apostles presented the book of his profession of faith to Peter who approved of it and sanctioned it. Clement sealed the books with the seal of each Apostle, beginning with the seal of Peter, then with that of Mary the mother of light, and with that of Paul "who had tampered with the language of the books"⁴ and with that of John, and added curses to anyone who would reveal any of its secrets.

Then Clement narrates that he fetched a chest which he called the "Ark of the New Testament" and in which he laid the following sacred objects. He first rolled all the books up in the towel with which the Christ had wiped the feet of the Apostles after He had washed them, as that towel had been kept by Peter, and then he placed them in the chest and covered them with the face-cloth which was on our Lord's head when He was in the grave. Afterwards aided by some of the Apostles he placed in the chest the linen cloth with which the body of our Lord was wrapped, and the coat without seam which He wore, and the crown of thorns with which He was crowned, and the apparel of purple in which He was arrayed, and the vessel which contained the gall and the vinegar which He was given to drink, and the spear with which His side was pierced, and

¹ Cf. here the Syriac work *Cave of Treasures*.

² Neither the records of *Stephen* and *Silvanus* nor *Zerosus*, the name of St. Paul's disciple, are found in the Ethiopic work *Contendings*, pp. 519-520. Mention, however, is made of a *Protheus* (*ibid.*, pp. 517 and 520).

³ Probably the Areopagite.

⁴ *fā'innahu kūna ghayyara lisāna 'l-kutubi*. This strange sentence about St. Paul is likewise omitted in the Ethiopic *Contendings* (*ibid.*, 518). On the contrary Paul is called therein (p. 521): "For he (Paul) was the eye of all the books." The verb *ghayyara* literally means "to change, to modify."

the rope with which His body was tied to the wood of the Cross, and the reed with which He was struck on the head. All these Clement placed along with his book in the "Ark of the Covenant of the New Testament"¹; and they will protect Rome from all harm till the day of the Resurrection,² and no enemy will ever prevail against it.³

[Here begins (ff. 185^b-194^a) the section which contains what we may call the testament of Peter to Clement. It mostly deals with early church discipline and practices, and deserves to be published separately with a more detailed explanation and a more extensive critical apparatus; this I hope to do in the near future. I will, however, give a full translation of the following passage found on fol. 185^b as it appears to me to be of some importance.]

"(God) will set up Rome as splendour, light and the right place for holiness, and the faith of its inhabitants will not change nor suffer modification, as it is the true faith.' And the pure father Peter said: 'Whichever nation which does not profess the same faith as the faith of Rome is remote from God.' And he also said: 'Any Christian whose faith is not identical with that of the inhabitants of Rome, is remote from God, and will have no share with me.' And (Christ) informed me that He will establish this city as a dwelling-place for angels, and holiness⁴ will not cease in it. Tares will not penetrate into it nor will it be conquered by the Kings of Tares."

¹ An attempt to introduce into Christianity the idea of the Jewish Tabernacle.

² Cf. the veronica which in the legend had to protect the town of Edessa.

³ All the above narrative is found in the Ethiopic *Contendings*, pp. 518-523, but in a slightly different form.

⁴ Or possibly "the mass."

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